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THE LESSONS OF RECENT PUBLIC EVENTS.

From a Discourse by Rev. Samuel Johnson, preached in the Lynn (Mass.) Free Church Chapel, September 16.

Even War has its Gospels. Monarchs and diplomats propose: the Spirit of Unity that nerves the Age disposes. Officials, who would use the masses as counters of their gambling tables, are its puppets, and the future has their reward in store. See what an insatiable thirst for knowledge comes with the sense of approaching Liberty and Unity! Look at the Italian populace, at the schools of Milan, of Naples, of Palermo! Look at the American freedmen! While the needle-gun slays its thousands, the school-book is redeeming millions. But the needle-gun, though not of itself a peace-maker, also serves humanity while it slays.

The People, indeed, have not yet learned their powers or their duties. How bitter the price they pay for Liberty! The question with thoughtful men is not whether Freedom and Unity will triumph, but what are the masses going to allow the victory to cost them. How much misery is to come of their ignorant, good-natured trust in their deceivers! I read in a paper the other day that an American said to a Bavarian, "How can you submit to Bismarck?" The answer was instant, "Have you not a Bismarck in America?" "Yes, but no armies." "But what need of armies," was the rejoinder, "when one man can undo in six months all that a million of soldiers have accomplished in four years?" That was said some time ago. One would have to ask Bismarck's pardon for the parallel now. One would also have to modify that criticism of the American people, if we may judge from present appearances.

And this brings us to our national experience of the basest uses to which the unity the age is seeking can be put, namely, the *counterfeiting of it in a Republic* for destructive and execrable purposes; for purposes which bring to a head all the vilest humors of the State, and arm them with official authority; the satanic press, the rebel conspiracy, the blood-thirsty mob, the sleek kiss of the Catilines on the noble forehead of the Peace they betray. It is this aspect of the present attempt on the liberties of the country that shows best the depth of its malignity. Unity is a holy name for the loyalty of this generation. If its conscience will not hold even him guiltless who but taketh that name in vain, what will it do with those who make it a dagger to pierce the nation's heart?

I cannot bring myself, even after so long an interval of silence as the Summer vacation has necessitated, to go into the details of a plot so barefaced. I have no patience to recall them. I shall not insult you nor myself by arguing against the pretences relied on for forcing it through. A scheme to reinstate rampant rebellion in the government of this country has but to make its own monstrous confession, which it is doing every day as fast as could be desired. It will be answered by that sentence at the ballot-box with which a great people disposes of the little men who have betrayed its trust. If it had been possible for this thing to be carried on in the dark, it might have succeeded for a while. But here, as elsewhere, the age allows no concealment of plots against its Spirit. It drags all the masks from the performers, and reveals mere blustering treason. The American people are not to be *bullied*, though they might possibly have been hoodwinked and wheedled into theories of State Rights that offer a bounty to future rebellions by bestowing increased political power as the consequence of a past one. They are not to be browbeaten into receiving as their peers in political functions legions whose hands are yet unwashed of patriot blood, and who arrogantly claim, as conquered rebels, rights they refuse to loyal millions who have deserved the nation's gratitude. The American people can bear a considerable amount of sophistry without flinching; but these are bold jugglers who dare go before them with the claim that the murderers of Dostie and Horton are to be preferred to the heroes of Wagner and Port Hudson; that Memphis and New Orleans are more commendable for loyalty than Boston; that Mayor Monroe and his official banditti are better citizens than Phillips and Sumner, and that these are to be sacrificed that those may be upheld. They are not to be coerced into thrusting their own Houses of Congress out of doors to make way for triumphant followers of Davis and Lee; into throwing their Legislature under the feet of an Executive who renounces the one sacred purpose of national preservation for which they took him out of the dust of an unregenerated Border State—that he may reconstruct the whole government on the basis of his reconstruction of the South, and enthrone dictatorship in the name of Democracy. They have not spent their best blood that such men as he is gathering around him should have the final settlement of this controversy between loyalty and treason, nor that an impudent junto of these old allies from the North and South, assembled to renew their fraternal embraces, should be accepted as the presbytery of the nation. The very air these men are breathing is delusion and frenzy. At last the fumes have turned their brains. They break into open insult to the people. It is called to behold the spectacle of its Executive turning an official pilgrimage into a public scandal; bandying coarse talk; accusing, threatening; boasting his own services and announcing his will; a graceless caravan, flaunting Southern dictation in the face of Northern loyalty and self-respect. A spectacle unparalleled, even by that of another Secretary, backed by another President, sixteen years ago, traversing Northern cities to sneer down a Higher Law, and force a Fugitive Slave bill against the public conscience.

The American people have some care for the dignity of the Executive office, if the present accidental incumbent has none. It is a matter of some interest to them to what inspiration his harangues are due. The American people are neither babes nor fools. Reason is not supplanted in them by the bitter jocosity of a Seward, nor by that unmingled wisdom of the serpent that has reached its height in a Montgomery Blair, nor even by that inscrutable charity of a Ward Beecher which cannot behold iniquity. They are neither disposed to self-destruction nor to total depravity. They are confronted by great perils; but the bad blood of this unnatural enterprise will not let it prosper, and blabs the whole secret with curses and oaths. It is little to say of such an adventure upon human weakness and wickedness that it is overreaching itself. History scarcely affords a parallel to the audacity of it. Common sense is confounded, and asks a solution of the phenomenon. The intensest representative of Southern Spirit in the Presidential chair after such a defeat of rebellion, daring to declare Congress "a body hanging on the verge of the government," and the solemn acts of its legal majorities a usurpation; preparing to set it aside by violence, and put another "body" in its place; commencing the work by practically inciting massacres of loyal men; by violating the sanctuary of State Rights, by calling a loyal Governor to account for summoning a State Convention in defiance of rebel threats; by giving the malignants assurance of his sympathy; by leaving their barbarities unrebuked, though committed in his name! The people know what all this intends; they know what it means when such a body as that which invaded Philadelphia on the 14th of August informs the disloyalists of the South that they will be degenerate sons of their sires if they submit to the Congress of the nation. They know what it all points to, and they will see to this last phase of the rebellion. But how explain it? Even the unconverted state of the public conscience on the rights of the negro is not sufficient to do so. That is but the background from which it projects. I will tell you my solution; probably it is your own also. I believe that this accidental President, violent, self-inflated, Southern in his instincts, blinded by personal antipathies and by the grossness of his habits, is deceived into this career by more cunning men who profess to know the public mind. I do not think you can understand this business until you see how it is steeped in the gall of a once honored statesman, disappointed in his personal aspirations, and living solely for revenge on the party which rejected his imagined claims; everything but *this one purpose*, however fearful his country's stake therein, lying before him as mere food for mocking and jest, to be turned off with the airs of a petty soothsayer, who despises the fools he deceives. And it is to be foiled by his own instruments! But I enter no further into that sad subject.

I ask you to note especially, in pursuance of the present Discourse, a single feature of this Crime—one which was fully revealed in the Philadelphia cabal. *It puts on the sheep's clothing of Peace.* It baptizes itself in the name of that Spirit of Unity in which it is shrewd enough to see the real motive-power of this Age. And what a name for foreheads lifted to renew the strife against impartial Liberty; to defend the slaughter of peaceable citizens and the instrumentalities of rebellion! A Gospel of Unity preached by Southern men burning with the mortification of defeat, and Northern men hating the ideas and institutions of the Free States! A Gospel of Unity preached by an assembly that dared not trust its members to speak lest they should betray the inner necessities which divided them; on the one hand the restless longing for secession, on the other the nervous dread of it; yet dramatically linked arm in arm, in witness, I suppose, of the only sentiments they do hold in common, the love of official patronage and the hatred of the negro! Think of it! A demand for "magnanimity" to a defeated rebellion, put in by pardoned rebels and by men whose own sympathy with that rebellion it required all the magnanimity of the nation to forgive!

We have heard many holy names taken in vain. We have seen the caricature and profanation of them whereof politics are rife. But for debauchery of sacred words I think the full hour never came till now. There is a rankness of this kind of weed that leaves a people no choice but to cut it down and cast it into the oven.

But I must not stop here. I must declare my belief that the Nation has dangers more pressing than the plots which Andrew Johnson's own speeches are defeating. We are imperilled by well-meaning politicians, who perpetually stave off impartial suffrage to a safer opportunity. Congress has presented an Amendment which, whatever its good points may be, concedes away our right and duty to insist on this measure *as a public necessity;* which lets the question slide as one belonging to the States; which leaves the fate of a claim so sacred to be decided at the South,—and that by motives of *political interest*, when we know, or ought to know, that its *social* bearings override *all* interests in the Southern mind. Do not be blinded to the fact that this Amendment is a *substitute* for impartial suffrage. Do not suffer any platform enthusiasm to make you forget that the passage of it at once brings back the Southern States; that then *their political opportunity comes back*, and they can afford to spurn these bribes we have offered for impartial suffrage, while we on the other hand will have lost the chance of enforcing it. Our political managers may mean that all shall come out right. But they forget the demoralizing effect of staving off a solemn duty in the name of a political expediency; they forget that the negro is not a mere passive makeweight here, but a living, expectant creditor, whom it is not right nor safe to trifle with longer. Do not be persuaded that the Amendment is the great issue for the hour. Your Congress would never have proposed a measure so inadequate and perilous had they dreamed of the popular uprising for liberty which the hour promises now. God grant that it may not be frittered away by half-measures. I know the political managers have their excuse: that the North has not itself conceded suffrage to the negro; but does this injustice to a mere fragment of its population touch the duty of meeting the claims of half the population of some of these States, and more than nine-tenths of the *loyal* South? It only proves the greater need of rousing the conscience of the North on this matter at once, if the future is to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. And what could be so essential to this end as a solemn utterance by Congress in behalf of a duty which the whole condition of the South could not but enforce. Was it unreasonable to expect that body, in a crisis like this, to take a step in advance of certain Black Laws of the North, *for the safety of the Nation?*

But it was still more essential for the quickening of the Northern conscience on this question of impartial suffrage, that there should come up from the assembled *loyalists of the Border and Southern States*, in whom the people have had implicit trust, the *more* solemn declaration that this measure was essential to their very existence; that *without it reconstruction is a hideous calamity.* Why, then, should Northern politicians stave off such a declaration by persuading that Convention that it would endanger the party success, and the defeat of the Executive? Why should they help the old Border State policy to triumph again in opposition to the intensest convictions, not less of the truest men in the whole Southwest than of the statesmen of New England? But for the determination of the noble band whom Massachusetts has just honored herself by greeting in Faneuil Hall, that policy would have prevailed in the Convention to the very end, and the noblest opportunity possible for this nation been utterly lost. Never did the heroism of those *genuine* loyalists shine as it did that last day, when, deserted by the Border States, they stood up true to the nation and the negro, and did the work the political cowards who had claimed to speak for Southern loyalism had neglected. All honor to them, the men who have stood in the breach from the beginning through and through to the end! When history gathers up its treasures, and sorts the gold from the dross, shall they not shine? How they rebuke a timid Congress! How they rebuke the anxious party-managers whose business seems to be to go about ganging, in their small way, how much virtue this people will stand, and then imposing on its delegates, with solemn shakings of the head, the duty to go so far and no farther, and to leave *them* to manage God's future! If these manipulators would, for once, but leave the delegates of the people alone, we should perhaps see the people just to itself. A lesson has been read them, which, let us hope, they will take home. Had not Hamilton, and Warmouth, and Moss, an equal stake with themselves in the triumph of Congress at the next election? If these men from the front of the battle dared put the whole truth before the people, could not these catch one spark of the fire of faith?

At last indeed the nation has the *Word of the Hour* in its fulness. What a moment it was when the whole meaning of this war came out in one unbalked utterance—a true Southern Convention, without distinction of color, claiming of the nation impartial liberty for all, and hailing the eloquence of a negro and a woman as the best expression of their inmost faith! I point to that as the proof that the controlling laws of justice are irresistible; *as the true symbol of the Unity the age is seeking*—the Unity that shall be established when the day of fears and delusions, of false pretences and bloody crimes shall have passed away. As that brave company of Freedom's Southern Apostles move across the States to the grave of her honored Martyr, they might well pause by the way to receive a benediction from a surely not *less* sacred grave among the lonely rocks of North Elba; and as, step by step, they cover out of sight certain recent tracks that are black with a nation's disgrace, may the welcome of millions assure them that their trust in God and the people was not in vain,

PHILOSOPHY WITH A MORAL.

From the Rochester (N. Y.) Weekly Express.

In his excellent speech Thursday evening, Gen. Banks not only avowed impartial suffrage and the enfranchisement of the negroes as a right, but conclusively proved that it was one which could not always or long be withheld. We do not doubt the correctness of the eloquent orator's argument—it would be impossible to do so; but it seems to us that the speech failed in what clergymen would call the "application," and failing in which, left its most radical doctrines a mass of abstractions and "glittering generalities" rather than a new guarantee for human enfranchisement. Yet the moral—the "application" of the truths which Gen. Banks uttered is so patent, that no one need fail to see it. If impartial suffrage is not only a right, but one which is inevitable as a political and economical necessity, the obvious logic of statesmanship would be to accept it at once as a right, while we can confer it honorably as a franchise, instead of waiting to have it forced from our unwilling hands by stern necessity. Months since, when the Unionists in the Southern States seemed to have obtained the advantage, and had disfranchised rebels in Tennessee, Missouri, Maryland, Kentucky and West Virginia, we saw even then that loyalty in all those States must be whelmed by the flood of rebel votes unless Union men would use their power while they had it to enfranchise all the loyal men in their States. We urged them to do this while they could do it, as a matter of justice, and before they had seen its necessity. The thirty-seven thousand rebel majority in Kentucky has convinced the white Unionists of the South how powerless they are without the help of the loyal blacks. Even the Conservative Louisville *Journal* proclaims that the adverse result in Kentucky secures negro suffrage within five years—which may be true if the power has not already so far slipped from their hands, that Kentucky Unionists will never be able to grant it. Two years ago the Unionists of Louisiana could have extended the elective franchise to the negro and thus have secured and perpetuated loyal supremacy in that State. They let the golden opportunity pass by, and now, when their Convention meets, it is mobbed and its members are murdered. The same fate impends over Maryland, Tennessee and Missouri if they do not take warning in time. The struggle in the Border States, between rebels and Unionists, is simply a race to see whether the latter can enfranchise the negro before the power slips from their hands, and thus forever prevent the accession of rebels.

Gen. Banks proved that negro suffrage was an economic necessity which even Democrats and rebels would be compelled to recognize. This is the only way of securing the contentment of the industrial classes of the South, which is essential to its prosperity. Rebels, even, must concede suffrage to the negro in time. Why, then, should not the Democratic party unite in doing at once what is sooner or later inevitable? Is it not vastly better to extend suffrage now than wait for riots, insurrection and, perhaps, revolution by the disfranchised classes?

The treatment of the slavery question by this country has throughout been one of unparalleled cowardice and meanness. No act of justice to the negro has ever been done solely as justice; but always from military or political necessity. Our repentance for national sin has never come until we had first received the severest punishment.

What new and terrible suffering must this sorrowing nation undergo before our statesmen learn at once to do justice, and to cheerfully accept what must in any event be sooner or later inevitable?

FRESH RECONSTRUCTION DEMANDS OF THE RADICALS.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The Radicals of Massachusetts are ever ambitious to be a full chalk's length ahead of all other Radicals, and will send to the next Congress the most extreme men of the party in that State. Banks, Butler and Boutwell are sure to go to Washington, and it is probable that Wendell Phillips will be sent along with them to keep them up to the mark. The Boston *Traveller* is now advocating Phillips's claims on the following ground:

"It is urged that Wendell Phillips should not be nominated for Congress in the third district because he has not always acted with the Republican party. It is true that the party has heretofore failed to come up to his standard, and he has refused to go down to their level; but now they have marched up to his position and are forming ranks on the advance line with him, and there is now no reason why he who as a scout has so far successfully and faithfully piloted them on the way to victory, should not bear the standard at the hour of final triumph."

What sort of ends those are to which Mr. Phillips will pilot the Radicals if they give him the helm, as is proposed, have been already clearly announced in his speeches and through the columns of the Anti-Slavery Standard. That the rest of the delegation are ready and willing to follow him blindly is evident from the speeches already given to the public by Butler and Banks, which are enthusiastically endorsed by the Radicals. On the 10th instant Mr. Boutwell addressed his constituents at Marlborough, Mass., giving utterance to the following programme of fresh demands to be made of the late rebellious States by Congress:

The speaker next considered what we demanded of the South. The demand made by them, he said, was very moderate, too moderate. If the present Congressional platform expressed the whole claim to be demanded of the South, it was one he would not support. It was well as far as it went, but it did not go far enough. There would be no safety if the South came in and these demands only were complied with. Our only security in the future was in endowing the colored loyal people of the South with the elective franchise, and the speaker said he did not intend to vote for the admission of either of the ten States not at present represented in the Congress of the United States until impartial suffrage was secured to all the people in those States. Those States had lost the right of representation, and he did not intend they should again exercise this right until assured by a reasonable amount of testimony that a majority of the people in them who had the right of franchise were loyal to the United States. And he saw no other way to effect this than to give this right to the negro, who had always been loyal.

He believed that when the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled in December next, there would not be found five men who were identified with the Republican party who would not be in favor of impartial suffrage in every one of these ten States as a condition precedent to their admission. The people had the matter in their own hands, and in the coming elections would pass judgment on "my policy." The result of the decree would be that Congress would reassemble with renewed vigor, strengthened by contact with the people, and they will say to the President, to the rebels, and to the whole South, we have changed the conditions on which you can be restored to this Union. When we separated we said you might be restored on certain conditions, but we have been with the people (and the President, you know, delights to appeal to the people), and we find that the people of the country are resolved the negro shall be accorded his right in the ten States of the South before you can be admitted.

During the last few months of the session of Congress it was given out by the friends of the President that Jeff. Davis could not be tried until there was some legislation by Congress. The speaker said he introduced a resolution in Congress, which was referred to a Judiciary Committee for the purpose of investigating the facts concerning the complicity of Jeff. Davis in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and report whether legislation was necessary. This committee, in their investigation, had an opportunity to read two papers found in one of the Southern States, which had been in possession of Jeff. Davis, and which contained the opinion of Davis of North Carolina, and Reardon, a Texas Postmaster, on the question what the rights of the rebel States would be in the Union after the surrender of Johnston to Sherman in the Spring of 1865. Those papers were lengthy, and they were the first known declaration of the policy which Mr. Johnson was now pursuing in reference to the rebel States. According to the opinion expressed in them these eleven States had a right to seats in the legislature of this country as soon as they laid down their arms. Mr. Johnson was answering all their reasonable expectations,

CURSES COMING HOME.

From the New York Tribune.

Gov. Orr has called together the Legislature of South Carolina in extra session, and sent them a Message wherein he recommends many changes in laws, especially those affecting blacks. He says:

"By the thirtieth section of the 'Act to establish District Courts,' it is provided 'that in every case, civil and criminal, in which a person of color is a party, or which affects the person or property of a person of color, persons of color shall be competent witnesses. The accused in such a criminal case, and the parties in every such civil case, may be witnesses, and so may every other person who is a competent witness, etc.'

"The first paragraph of this section, admitting persons of color to testify in all cases where themselves or their race are directly concerned, and excluding them by implication in all cases where they are not interested, cannot be reconciled with sound policy or just discrimination. They are admitted in that class of cases where their interest, sympathy, association and feelings would be most likely to pervert their consciences and invite to false swearing, and are excluded from testifying in all cases where no motive could exist to swear falsely, except that of a depraved heart. The distinction is illogical and indefensible, and *it cannot be denied that it has its foundation in a prejudice against the caste of the negro.* If the rules of evidence in all the Courts were so modified as to make all persons and parties competent witnesses in their own and all other cases, no possible danger could result from it. Many of the States of the Union, and several of the civilized countries of the Old World, have tried the experiment, and the result proves that the cause of truth and justice has been thereby promoted. The object of every judicial investigation is to ascertain the truth, and, when found, to dispense justice in conformity thereto. With intelligent judges and discriminating juries, correct conclusions will be more certainly attained by hearing every fact, whatever may be the character or color of the witness.

"In the second paragraph of the section already quoted, the General Assembly have reached the same conclusion; for in all cases where persons of color are allowed to testify, all persons, including parties, are declared competent witnesses. Would it not be eminently wise to adopt the same rule in all Courts, and extend it to all persons?

"In civil cases, the testimony of persons of color is oftentimes requisite to elucidate the facts and secure a just decision. They constitute a majority of the entire population of the State, and of necessity are often sole witnesses of contracts and transactions between white persons. Shall the parties in such cases be denied justice, by excluding the only evidence to secure it, because of an apprehension that it may be in a measure unreliable? Would it not be more in accordance with an established rule, to receive the evidence and weigh its value? In the law of evidence, the character and standing of a witness goes to affect his credibility, and not his competency. Why not, in the case of the person of color, follow this rule to its logical conclusion?

"In criminal cases, these considerations weigh with peculiar force. The negro is readily deceived and corrupted, and becomes an easy prey to the machinations of depraved white men; and past experience teaches that he is employed to execute the most dishonest purposes, and with impunity to the principal, because of his exclusion as a witness from the Courts of justice. The shrewd and cunning continue to put the negro forward in the commission of crime, and they go unwhipped of justice because the law forbids that the testimony of the negro shall be heard. Does not the exclusion of persons of color make them invaluable accessories to the perpetration of crime? How can society be protected against that large class of infamous crimes, now so prevalent in this State, unless by making the negro a competent witness, we avail ourselves of all accessible evidence to convict the offenders? And will the law of the State continue to offer a reward to the dishonest to further tempt and corrupt the negro? The well-being of the State materially depends upon the elevation of this class of our population, and if there was no other argument in behalf of their admissibility to our Courts, the tendency of such a measure to elevate their moral and intellectual character would be sufficient.

"The dishonest may object to the extension of this right to all cases, because it reduces the field for his nefarious operations, but if the good and virtuous are protected, society is amply compensated for the change. Men of probity and integrity have no reason to apprehend any evil consequences from the change. The discrimination of intelligent judges and juries will be a shield against unjust charges supported by false swearing, and the same intelligence will bring the really guilty to condign punishment."

—All this is sensible and a sign of progress. Only let the North and West re-echo the thunders of Maine, and the South will gradually and surely reconstruct herself on a basis of Loyalty and Liberty.

A CRISIS IN MISSOURI.

From the Chicago Republican.

Judging by the President's recent action in interfering with the concerns of State governments, we should be justified in expecting him to give Frank Blair substantial aid in fulfilling his frequent promises to the rebel bushwhackers and guerillas that infest Missouri. The President's interferences have thus far been on the side of disloyalty. He interfered in Louisiana to prevent, for one purpose, the same legitimate result of his provisional policy which, for another purpose, he permitted in North Carolina. He refused to interfere in Tennessee to protect loyal men in carrying on the government which he had himself organized. It might be expected that for the same reason he would interfere in Missouri. It alone depends on the desperateness of his purpose and the blindness of his heart, whether the flames of civil war shall again be kindled in that State.

The embers of the old war are not yet dead, and inflammable material abounds for a new one on every hand. A few weeks ago, at a public meeting held in the Capital of the State, a banner was flaunted displaying the following inscription: "A free ballot or a free fight, with Andy Johnson on our side!" We are compelled to believe this no empty threat, when we read such words as the following, in the St. Louis *Christian Advocate*—the organ of the Methodists of the State—in its issue of the 12th inst:

"Civil war is imminent in Missouri. Encouraged by the President, the rebels are blatant, impudent, and violent. Rebel papers are calling on their subscribers and friends to arm and drill."

We are confirmed in this by the testimony of a gentleman, a lawyer in one of the principal cities of the interior, who has resided in Missouri since 1859. He states that the elements are ripe for a civil war in his city. The rebels are armed and drilled; and their threats, violence, and tyranny have compelled all loyal men to arm and organize for self-protection. Gov. Fletcher is true, firm, and energetic; and our informant is confident that, if the State is left to itself, she will pass through the crisis safely. The only fear is that the President will send Federal soldiers to "clean out" the militia, and prevent them from protecting the ballot-box in accordance with the constitutional and legislative codes of the State.

The legal aspects of the case may be very briefly stated. The new Constitution has the following provision, in conformity with which the Legislature, at a recent adjourned session, passed a registration law:

"The General Assembly shall immediately provide by law for a complete and uniform registration by election districts, of the names of qualified voters in this State, which registration shall be evidence of the qualification of all registered voters to vote at any election thereafter held."

The new Constitution also provides that a most stringent oath shall be administered to every registered voter, under which no rebel, or no one who has given rebels aid and comfort, can vote without committing perjury. The United States Supreme Court has, if we mistake not, a case before it involving the constitutionality of the registration law and the test oath. This has not yet been adjudicated; and Gov. Fletcher can certainly be relied on to enforce the present law until a decision shall be made contravening it. He will do this to the extent of calling out the State militia. If the President sees fit to leave the State "to manage her own domestic concerns in her own way," we have reason to suppose that loyalty will be vindicated in Missouri, in the persons of those who shall vote, in the policies which they shall decide upon, and in the men whom they shall elect to Congress. Our informant says that Missouri, if permitted to take her own course, will come out of a peaceful canvass with 25,000 Union majority; and that, under the registration law, every Congressional District will be represented at Washington by loyal men.

If the result is otherwise—if rebels are allowed to vote, if revolutionary policies prevail, if disloyal men assume to represent the State in Congress—it will be purely through Executive interference, and after a contest in which the sun of the State will have set in blood. Moderation, decision, firmness, are the qualities that are needed; and Missouri has them embodied in Thomas Fletcher.

THE CONDITION OF LOUISIANA DESCRIBED BY GOV. WELLS.

A private letter from Gov. Wells, of Louisiana, dated on the 18th inst., and addressed to Mr. Thomas H. Jones, of Arcadia, in that State, contains these passages:

"I don't wonder, my friend, that you advert to the present condition of Union men in the State, and can see but little difference between what they suffered under rebel rule, and what they now have to submit to. Their fidelity to the government is a brand or stigma—they are called all sorts of names, the word 'Yankee' being the most general, because, I suppose, being considered the most opprobrious—they find themselves under the ban of proscription, both socially and in their business affairs; in every parish where the rebel element is in a majority, they see men holding the principal offices at whose hands, perhaps, they and their families were persecuted, and this, too, at a time when the State is still under martial law, and when garrisons of United States troops can be communicated with almost at a day's notice everywhere. In this list of grievances I have said nothing of threats of violence, and actual violence suffered by Union men.

"I have left out the bloody record of the 30th of July, in New Orleans, when Union men were murdered by wholesale in broad daylight, and with thousands of United States soldiers within hearing distance. Now, my friend, if these things are done when we are under the protection of the strong arm of the military, if the envenomed hatred of the men who labored for four years to destroy the government could not be restrained, even in the presence of the military, it is a serious subject for reflection to what extent this vengeance will be carried when unawed and unrestrained by the force of bayonets. In my address, referred to, I gave it as my deliberate opinion that if the military forces were withdrawn the life of every prominent Union man would be endangered. I still adhere to that opinion, and will add by way of amendment that unless the force is increased I do not consider the protection thus afforded as a perfect security by any means. You know, my friend, I tried the 'conciliation' policy in this State thoroughly. I did so in good faith and with a sincere desire to heal the wounds of the country. The result you know as well as I do. I have and do acknowledge that it failed in its object.

"Perhaps it is as well the experiment was tried. It has demonstrated to the people of the loyal States the undying hostility of the spirit of slavery to free government. It has shown that the clemency extended to its advocates, who plunged the country into a bloody war, has been unavailing in winning them back to their allegiance, and the only policy by which the nation can be preserved from these plotters for its overthrow is to punish the traitors that, to use President Johnson's emphatic language, 'treason may be forever rendered odious.'

"That Congress will regulate all these matters at its next session, is not a matter for doubt. Its first duty, as I conceive, will be to pass an enabling act, prescribing how the rebel States shall be reorganized. The first preliminary to that end will of course be a convention from the people to form a constitution, and in electing that convention I consider that Congress has the constitutional right to say who shall vote and who shall not."

THE RETREAT.

From the Missouri (St. Louis) Democrat.

Alas! and has A. Johnson gone? Are we to listen no more to that refined and convincing oratory; no more to behold him swinging round that familiar circle which has traitors at both "ends," no more to receive as a special deposit from his hands the much trampled Constitution and flag; no more to be dazzled by the lustre of his multitudinous I's; no more to hear from his own lips that he is not a traitor, and not a Judas because T. Stevens is no Christ? Is the national education in grammar henceforth to be neglected by Mr. Johnson? Are we to be delivered over to horrible suspense, C. Sumner and T. Stevens being still unhanged? What will become of the Radical party, deprived of the daily food and supreme delectation so bountifully supplied by the Humble Individual in his oratorical outburst? Alas, the best and brightest ever soonest fade!

"I never loved a dear gazelle
To glad me with its bright dark I"
But the thing took sick of stumping and went
Off to Washington to die.

A. Johnson has retired from the field. Whether his one speech became rather threadbare, after so many repetitions, or whether the printing offices in the country got out of capital I's, or whether Mr. Johnson's stock of constitutions and flags gave out, we shall never know. Enough, that he tears himself away, and the Radical party loses its most effective stump-speaker. "We ne'er shall see his like again." Brownlow, Hamilton, Moss, and a half dozen more, have arranged a "grand combination of talent" to supply his place as far as possible, but it will not do. All of these put together cannot match Mr. Johnson in vulgarity. If they have Constitutions, they will study them, and not sling them away at railroad stations. Several of the party are guilty of grammar as taught by Lindley Murray. Two or three are noted scolds, but if all of them combined undertake to equal Mr. Johnson in vituperation, they will fail. All the speeches that all the Radicals in the country may make, from this time until after the election, will not do as much good as the unique oration of Mr. Johnson a dozen times delivered. We have lost our best man. But there is one consolation. He has fixed things so that our victory is inevitable. He deserves from all Radical Clubs and Conventions a formal vote of thanks, and should be notified that he can draw on our executive committee, to any amount, for remuneration.

Mr. Johnson started out with flying colors. These "traitors," two or three millions in number, were getting offensive to his soul, and he resolved to "go for" them. He went. And at first he met with tolerable success, for his speech was new, and people had never heard anything of that sort before, especially from a President. But the grand triumphal march soon degenerated into a skirmish, the skirmish into a fight, the fight into a flight. Johnson's raid began to resemble Morgan's, or Early's, or Price's, in result as well as in object. At station after station he halted, drew himself up in line of battle, had a sharp skirmish with the crowd and "retired in good order." At Cleveland and Detroit, he retired not in good order. At Chicago he failed entirely to swing round the circle, or to deposit the Constitution in the hands of anybody. At St. Louis the skirmish became a battle; he fired away all his ammunition, and still the crowd kept up its volleys, and in the end the raider was routed. So badly, that the *Republican* gave him the cold shoulder. At Indianapolis, being quite out of ammunition, he made no speech, the combat was disgustingly one-sided, and he had to fall back on his friends in Kentucky for a fresh supply. Another incursion into Ohio resulted only in new disasters, and his retreat soon became a rout. He found refuge at last in his stronghold at Washington, disgusted with the people, but having left the people still more disgusted with him. The "masterly retreats" of Banks and Price were very well in their way, and Xenophon is understood to have done a considerable feat in that line a good while ago, but in the magnitude of difficulties encountered, in the hopelessness of his position, and in unbroken continuity of disaster, the President's retreat upon Washington far surpasses anything in ancient or modern history. It is reported that the rebels of Washington turned out in large numbers to welcome him on his return. Well they might! Not even Jubal Early, who failed to enter Washington in 1864, deserved at their hands a more cordial reception.

We fancy Mr. Johnson will not attempt another stumping tour through the North. One such performance is as much as he can be expected to undertake. It would be cruel to call upon a man to dig his own grave twice.

THE PRESS.

THE WORLD'S VIEW OF THE RADICALS.

The New York *World* thinks no good can come of the Radical movement, that it is under the control of injudicious men. It says:

The Radical movement is not under the control of judicious men, and no good can come of it. Parson Brownlow, Thaddeus Stevens, Gen. Butler, Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, and the men of a like stamp, who lead the Radical party, may possess talents; but there is not a man in the whole list that has ever been reputed to possess a well-balanced mind. Such talents as they have are talents for agitation, talents for invective and vituperation, talents not for calming dangerous passions but for lashing them into frenzy. They are men on whom the mantle of old John Brown has descended, who is their patron saint, and whose 'soul is marching on' in the bodies of these his insurrectionary successors. It is evident that men of this class will never give us peace; evident that unless they are sternly frowned down by the people, they will stir up tumults and bring back an era of hideous violence and bloodshed.

IMPEACHMENT.

The *Herald* foreshadows the President's impeachment, preliminary to advocating it.

It is evident, therefore, from the spirit and the manner in which this radical campaign against the President is conducted, that if it should result in the election of another radical Congress we may look before the expiration of the next session of the present Congress for the removal of Andrew Johnson from the White House, through his indictment by the House of Representatives and his impeachment by the Senate, with Chief-Justice Chase in the chair. Then we may look for such a reconstruction of the government as will save the people any further trouble in its regulation short of a sanguinary revolution. This is the danger which is now looming up in bold relief. How is it to be averted? It can only be averted by the election of a conservative House of Representatives in place of the present radical one.

POOR RAYMOND.

The *World* discourses as follows of its back-sliding camp-follower:

Our Political Jonah.

When, in speaking not long since of the relations of Mr. Raymond and his Republican associates with the Democratic party, we said "that the whale might swallow Jonah, but Jonah could not swallow the whale," we certainly must have been filled with a prophetic fervor in selecting a comparison. Certainly, if we ever did have a Jonah amongst us, he lives and moves and has his being in the person of Mr. Henry J. Raymond; in fact, if we might say so, without affecting the reputation of the great original, or hurting the feelings of his friends, we should say that he out-Jonahs Jonah.

The parallel between these two great characters of ancient and modern history is indeed instructive.

The original Jonah requested to be thrown in the sea from a spirit of self-sacrifice. We once thought—that is, we did not exactly think (for we had known Mr. Raymond a long time), but we hoped—that in asking to be thrown overboard by his party he was actuated by the same feeling; now, however, we know that he was only taking a dive after the loaves and fishes. Jonah the first accepted the whale as a safe refuge; Jonah the second undertook to swallow the whale himself.

The Biblical Jonah, after having been engulfed by his fish, behaved himself properly, and after a short sojourn was borne to his destination by it in safety; while the political Jonah, undertaking to "bolt" after his absorption, was ignominiously repudiated by his whale and cast out into the midst of the sea, where, in spite of his vigorous efforts to attach himself on one day to the stern of the Republican ship and on the next to the tail of the Democratic whale, he is drifting about, even unto this day.

Floating thus on a stormy political sea, rejected by both friends and enemies, no Nineveh, no nomination in sight; out in the cold just when his decreasing circulation requires a nice snug place by the fire, the modern Jonah is certainly more unhappy than his prototypé. Poor Jonah! Poor, poor Raymond!

THE FOLLY OF INDECISION.

The Chicago *Religio-Philosophical Journal* very pertinently remarks:

The abolition of negro slavery, so far from being an ultimate, is but the removal of rubbish covering other abuses.

Had we continued to strike at the latter as vigorously as the former, conservatism must have become permanently intimidated.

But a display of indecision and weariness aroused its hope and developed its latent energies.

A few short months since, apparently weak and dying, it now presents the front of a vigorous giant.

IMPEACHMENT.

The *Herald* says:

From the preliminary caucus of the last session of Congress down to this day the wrath of the radicals against President Johnson has been rapidly progressing from bad to worse, until the alternative of his impeachment, which was first suggested for his intimidation, is now proclaimed a deliberate purpose. All disguises and pretences of reconciliation are at length cast aside, and the radical faction may now be considered as boldly in the field upon the issue of the impeachment of the President, who has failed to serve them.

IMPEACHMENT.

The *World* copies Mr. Phillips's article on impeachment in the last Standard, and comments as follows:

IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

Wendell Phillips publishes in this week's Anti-Slavery Standard an article (which we copy) vigorously urging the impeachment of the President, and asking the Thirty-ninth Congress to pass an act previous to its adjournment, fixing the 5th of March next as the day of the assembling of its successor, in order that Mr. Johnson may have no respite from Congressional persecution between the 4th of March and the 4th of December. The chief point made by Phillips in connection with the proposed impeachment is, that it will be of no value, and lead to no result, unless Mr. Johnson is suspended from office during the trial, and the House of Representatives designate a person to discharge its duties.

The House has no more authority to suspend the President, than it has to depose outright. Phillips says that other officers are suspended while under impeachment; but he says it without evidence, and against evidence. There have been but two Federal impeachments, as yet—that of Judge Pickering and of Judge Chase—and in neither was any action taken by either House for suspension from office while the impeachment was pending. If the House of Representatives had this power, a factious majority could at any time, and from any motives, foist one of its creatures into the Presidential office. The Constitution makes the House of Representatives, in cases of impeachment, simply an accuser; Phillips would make it a judge. All the House can do is to present the President to the Senate for trial, and appear there against him as a prosecutor. It is for the Senate to say, after hearing the evidence, whether the accusation is justly or unjustly made. But it can pronounce no sentence, either of suspension or deposition, until after the proofs have been weighed and the accused heard in his own defence. If the impudent assumption of power recommended by Phillips should be made by the House, that revolutionary power would be likely to learn that its sergeant-at-arms is not quite

a match for the military force commanded by the President.

CARLYLE'S "DIRTY CHIMNEY."

Carlyle, who has recently figured as the champion of the slaughterer and woman-whipper, Gov. Eyre of Jamaica, is thus commented upon by the *Tribune*:

Thomas Carlyle, the philosopher, thinks it "disgraceful to the good sense of England" that the case of the Jamaica slaughterer and woman-whipper should raise a clamor among sober people. Mr. Carlyle is fond of putting such bloody epics as the Slaveholders' Rebellion and the massacre of the Jamaica negroes in nutshells of his pet contrivance; but when men's heads are the shells, and these shells get broken without due cause, what wonder that the world is a little clamorous about its epics? Carlyle believes in muscle, power, force, aristocracy, slave-driving, and kingcraft—in everything that seems strong; but he don't believe in allowing the people the gymnastic exercise of free institutions, the fair play of voting, and he has no notion that you can make a natural nobleman of a mechanic of brains, if you will only give him a chance. Aristocracy has the money, the land, the laws, the chances, and therefore (think all who think with Mr. Carlyle) should have the ruling, mind, manners, and muscle, henceforth and forevermore. We suppose Gov. Eyre's brutality is applauded not only by all the Carlyleists, but by all the noodle noblemen and Tom Noddies in England. It is bad to see a strong man the leader of fops and the advocate of bullies. If Mr. Carlyle will but come to America, he will see with a liberal sight by the time our elections are over what respectability and dignity may exist among a common people, what majesty there is in masses, what truth in a popular fiat, and to what extent bullying in high places is tolerated among a free people.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

The *Evening Post* in an article on the Constitutional Amendment says:

The *Independent* takes occasion to lecture the National Republican Committee for promising admission to representation to the Southern States, on condition that the amendment is adopted. It remarks, correctly, that Congress has not pledged itself to any such bargain; and thus shows that the amendment is not, what the *Tribune* lately declared, a Congressional plan of reconstruction.

But the *Independent* goes further, and declares that Congress will not admit the Southern States to representation, even if they adopt the amendment. Like Mr. Stevens, it threatens new conditions. We believe, however, that both the *Independent* and Mr. Stevens will be disappointed, if the Southern States should wisely adopt the amendment. If this is done, we have no doubt whatever that the country will imperatively demand of Congress the immediate admission of Southern Representatives; and we do not think Congress will refuse this demand.

For proof of the disposition of the country, we might cite the general argument of Republican journals; but a more decided evidence may be found in the positive declaration of the Syracuse platform, which says:

"That the pending amendment to the Constitution, proposed by Congress, which defines citizenship in the United States and the civil rights of citizens, which equalizes national representon among the several States, which disables from national or local office—at the pleasure of the people represented in Congress—those who, having taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in rebellion against the same, and which declares the validity of the public debt of the United States, and invalidates every debt incurred by any attempt to overthrow the Union, is essential to engraft upon the organic law the legitimate results of the war, commends itself by its justice, humanity and moderation, to every patriotic heart, and that when any of the late insurgent States shall adopt that amendment, such State should at once, by its loyal Representatives, be permitted to resume its place in Congress."

To this declaration all the Republican candidates for Congress in this State are pledged; on this platform they appeal to the people for support; and, as men of honor, they will have to stand by it, if they are elected.

The *Tribune*, while arguing for the rightfulness of impartial suffrage, labors zealously for the adoption of the Amendment. In a recent article quoting from the *Times* it says:

The *Times* here ignores the platform of the recent Union State Convention at Syracuse, which expressly declares that any State which ratifies and in good faith conforms to the Constitutional Amendment shall thereupon be admitted to representation in Congress, as Tennessee has been. It ignores also, the late Address of the Union National Committee. In view of these and kindred manifestations, the disagreement of certain members of Congress, several months ago, strikes us as of little moment. We still hope to see the South come forward and offer to solve all remaining difficulties by accepting the broader, simpler platform—Universal Amnesty, Impartial Suffrage. If she does that, we shall urge that she be heartily, cordially met on that ground. But, in any other contingency, we stand by the Constitutional Amendment and look to see it ratified and most if not all the Southern States restored to representation, very soon after, if not immediately upon, the convening of the XLth Congress.

"THE SITUATION"

according to the *Journal of Commerce*:

We have no right, either by law or conquest, nor on moral principles, to treat the Southern States as conquered territories and populations. We may administer the law to individuals as severely as we please. We may punish men and women and children. But the U. S. government might as well repeal the charters of New Orleans, Mobile, and Charleston, and wipe them out as cities in the South, as to declare a Southern State dead or not a member of the Union. The moral right, the legal right, the constitutional right is just the same in both cases.

"But," says a sincere Radical, "have we not the right to refuse them admission to the Union unless they adopt such laws and social principles as we think correct?" No, you have no such right under the Constitution and laws of our land, nor have you the moral right unless you give them at the same time the right of accepting or rejecting your terms of union. The grand wrong, the outrage to American principles, the rotten timber which men are now engaged in forcing into the Constitution itself, is this plan of holding a State by the throat and declaring that it shall not come into the Union, not be protected by your Constitution, unless it will agree with you to alter that Constitution and submit to amendments of your proposing; but when the State asks "Will you let me stay out of your Union, if I don't like your new proposal?" the answer is a fierce No. This is a hideous burlesque on the idea of a free American Union. The vanity of a Union thus constructed is but too plain. It has not the consistency of a Summer morning cloud.

THE REAL ISSUE

is thus presented by the N. Y. *Evening Express*:

And on the negro, the real issue is not on his equality before the law, for the South is for giving him that equality, as far as State legislation can work it out, and in most of the States even now, the negro is just as "free and equal," as in the State of New York. The real issue, amid all the fog in disguise, as to the Constitutional Amendments, etc., is "negro suffrage." That is what the Radicals mean, and the journalist, if honest, is a blockhead who writes up "Constitutional Amendments," when, if he knows anything, he knows, that if the Constitution was amended every six months, the Radicals would never re-admit the South, without negro suffrage.

READMISSION TILL THE 4TH OF MARCH.

The *Tribune* thus defines its own and the Republican party's position on the question of readmission:

This, therefore, we understand to be the position of the Republican-Union party of our State—that every State lately in rebellion which shall, with reasonable promptitude and in hearty good faith, accept and ratify that Amendment, shall thereupon be entitled to immediate representation in Congress in accordance with its provisions. And, as we believe we can do more for the cause of impartial freedom by acting with that party than by bolting from and butting against it, we hold ourselves bound to conform in our action to its professions and virtual pledges. If any of the outlying States shall, during the lifetime of the present Congress, ratify the amendment as aforesaid, we shall feel bound to advocate the admission thereupon of their loyal representatives to seats in Congress. As to those which shall see fit to stand out beyond the 4th of March next, we shall feel at liberty to act according to the circumstances then existing, and to the riper and clearer convictions which we trust the loyal States and people will meanwhile have attained.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

From the Christian Recorder.

This gentleman declines to be a candidate for Congress. He thinks he can do more good out of Congress than in it. Better for Mr. Phillips to obey the inspiration that has controlled him for nearly a quarter of a century, and enabled him to offer prophetic warnings, and to plead effectively in behalf of the oppressed.

From the Springfield Republican.

Wendell Phillips declines the workingmen's nomination to Congress in the Third district. He says in his letter of declination that he has thoroughly reconsidered the matter, and has come to the same conclusion as at first, that he cannot accept the honor offered; that he feels that in accepting office he should incur responsibility to a far greater extent than he should gain power, and he does not court responsibility without all the power which should accompany it; he therefore thinks he can serve the cause of the workingmen better out of Congress than in it. We regret Mr. Phillips's decision, and cannot see the force of his reason for it. He should not shrink from responsibility through any lack of courage, and the responsibility of a Representative in Congress carries all legitimate power with it. He now has the influence of eloquent speech before the people. If he should accept a seat in Congress he would not lose this power, but would gain a new field for its exercise, and would have the added power of a vote in national legislation; and both voice and vote would have augumented power as embodying the opinion and will of an intelligent constituency. No, Mr. Phillips's philosophy is not sound, and his avoidance of responsibility is not creditable. Responsibility is just the thing he needs. His good words should have an opportunity to ripen into action.

MR. PHILLIPS.

From the Detroit Post.

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS, having been nominated for Congress by the workingmen, declines. His language in which he gives his reasons for refusing the position is as ambiguous as an oracle; but the meaning is tolerably clear after all. He believes that the responsibility he will incur will be greater than his increase of power. He thinks he can do more for the cause by standing on the outside of parties and organizations than by engaging directly in the strife. In other words, that he can do more good by criticizing those who are willing to take the responsibilities and goad them on to duty, than he can by taking hold with them. Perhaps, after all, and we say it sincerely, he is right. It is not, necessarily, an easier task to find fault than it is to share in the practical execution of a great work. An architect who can detect an ill-adjusted construction and incorrect lines, is not necessarily a useless man because he spends his time walking around the building, surveying, suggesting, instead of chiseling the blocks and pulling upon the windlass. Nor is it certain that he would see those faults of construction, if he were to confine his attention to dressing the stone and laying the mortar. But if he should abandon his critical standpoint, he might very soon learn that pilasters and arches, pediments and bases cannot be made to assume their requisite grace by a few moments of chipping and of using the pulleys and ropes. It takes time to create the structure and adapt it both to the utmost possible wants and demands of the future, and at the same time to give it grace of outline and beauty of form. If Mr. Phillips should actively participate in this part of the work, he instinctively feels that he would perceive and be compelled to acknowledge all these difficulties, and then his power in the direction in which he now effectively employs it would be gone. None can really wish to deprive him of this power. For, in spite of his unjust attacks and his unfounded and uncharitable criticism, he utters many noble and wholesome truths, which are most useful stimulants. We need such men to keep the standard ever in advance and let the rest fight up or march up to it. The errors they commit will be dissolved and corrected in the mass which follows them.

But we can easily imagine that Mr. Phillips is sufficiently candid in his self-consultations to acknowledge that his greatest power would be lost if he allowed personal responsibility to be placed upon his shoulders. As an honest man he would be compelled to admit the difficulties that exist; and even if he were not disposed to be honest, the responsibility of the legislation which his party enacted while he was an active member would have to be shared to some extent by himself. In the eyes of the world he could not escape, and by so much would his epigrams, his sarcasms, his sharply-cut portraitures fail of their force and influence. He is better outside; and if his bitterness of language, rather perhaps than of feeling, and his extravagant and not altogether trustworthy eloquence fail somewhat on account of the very qualities that make them attractive if not impressive, his peculiar power will have that scope which could not be expected of it in the Representatives' chamber. Those who have had a chance to see him in political councils, assert that he is as cautious and conservative, politic and careful as the best working manager of them all. And it is quite likely that he knows his present views would be toned down and moderated to political exigencies, just as they always are when-wisdom demonstrates that half a loaf is better than no bread.

We have proceeded on the supposition that Mr. Phillips would have gone to Congress as the Representative of the Republican party. Such would probably have been the case. For, although he was nominated by the workingmen, they are all Republicans, and they would have acquiesced in his withdrawal, if it had proved necessary to save the district; or, if he had been elected, he would have represented the party rather than the leagues, because during this political struggle, there is but one absorbing question, and but two parties. For the present, these minor movements are swallowed up in it. Everybody knows that Chipman, for instance, although an eminent and intelligent mechanic now, and in Detroit, will be nothing but a Democratic politician in Washington, if he is lucky enough to get there. Most of the workingmen who vote for him will vote for him because he is a Democrat; those who vote against him will do so for that reason; there are very few with so little intelligence as to vote for him with the expectation that he will ever do or say anything for the workingmen; even if he could by any possibility exert an influence.

Mr. Phillips's remarkable powers would press the subject upon the attention of the country. The hope of the workingmen for special legislation lies in great men like him, or in some man from the ranks of the workingmen themselves, whose personal interest combined with good sense and ability will compel the respect and the sympathy of the people. But when they put up mere politicians and demagogues, the mass of the people have as much respect and sympathy as they do for any other demagogues and politicians—and no more. After being defeated or betrayed a few times, the workingmen will learn this obvious fact.

THE RESULTS OF "MY POLICY" IN NORTH CAROLINA.—By a popular majority of about two thousand, the State of North Carolina has refused to ratify the Constitution framed by the Reconstruction Convention of the Fall of 1866. That Convention, it was urged, was the creature of a military dictator, and was not the people of the State acting in the character of makers of fundamental law. Its acts are utterly invalid. The later arguments of President Johnson were conclusively quoted against his inconsistent action in forcing upon the State the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery and the repudiation of the rebel debt. North Carolina may be said to have declared it as her opinion that she has lost nothing by the war but her property in slaves, and that she lost that not by law, but by the fortune of war. As Mr. Giles Mebane said in the Convention, "One Mr. Grant and one Mr. Sherman did that." Let North Carolina's view of the situation once be adopted by the people of the United States, and North Carolina negroes would probably soon find that their white fellow-citizens had met with no more than a nominal loss. While this is the sentiment of the State at large, we hear of meetings of Union men in Guildford and Randolph Counties urging Congress, for the sake of the Unionists of the State, not to loose its military grasp upon the South, and affirming their willingness to remain out of the Union for any reasonable length of time, so that reconstruction, when it does come, shall not be such as to leave them defenceless in the hands of their oppressive enemies.

PROFESSION AND PRACTICE.—The Philadelphia Convention of August 14, resolved that "slavery is abolished and forever prohibited, and there is neither desire nor purpose on the part of the Southern States that it should ever be re-established."

On Sunday last two negroes were sold in Clarke county, Alabama, the one for $750 and the other for $600. The prices indicate that the purchasers mean to keep them.—*Brooklyn Union.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1866.

STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

THE Constitution of the State of New York, Article 2, contains the following:

"SECTION 1. Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ten days, and an inhabitant of this State one year next preceding any election, and for the last four months a resident of the county where he may offer his vote, shall be entitled to vote at such election, in the election district of which he shall at the time be a resident, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now or hereafter may be elective by the people; but such citizen shall have been for thirty days next preceding the election, a resident of the district from which the officer is to be chosen for whom he offers his vote. But NO MAN OF COLOR, unless he shall have been for THREE years a citizen of this State, and for ONE YEAR next preceding any election shall have been seized and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS, over and above all debts and incumbrances charged thereon, and shall have been actually rated and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at such election. And no person of color shall be subject to direct taxation unless he shall be seized and possessed of such real estate as aforesaid."

The Constitution also contains a provision for a Convention to be held, at the option of the voters of the State, once in twenty years, for revision and such amendments as may have become necessary or desirable. This provision is eminently proper and reflects much credit for wisdom and forethought upon those by whom it was made. Such a Convention is to be held next year if the voters of the State so decide at the approaching November election. There are sundry interests which render the Convention desirable at this time to a large portion of the people. There is little doubt, therefore, that the vote will be in the affirmative, and the Convention held.

The feature of the Constitution which claims from us special attention is quoted above. We want the Convention to be held and urge all who can do so to vote for it. Our demand is that the special, invidious, and unjust proscription of voters on account of COLOR shall be abolished. Of the merit or demerit of a property-qualification we will not speak. We insist that if it be retained in the Constitution as a qualification for colored voters it shall be applied also to white men. It is sufficiently evident that this provision was engrafted upon the Constitution as a lingering result of the slave system which formerly existed here. Men of color were identified with a class, hated and despised, because the victims of injury and degradation. Previous efforts have from time to time been made by the colored people and Abolitionists to have this degrading and disgraceful proscription removed, but without success. The present is a most opportune period for the consummation of the work.

Reconstruction and Constitution-making is the absorbing problem of the hour. We urge the full and impartial enfranchisment of the colored men of this State by the Convention to be held, not only as an act of justice to them, but also FOR THE REASON THAT IT WILL BE A GREAT GAIN AND A VALUABLE AUXILIARY FOR THE CAUSE OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN THE PENDING NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. We know enough of the private convictions and the ultimate purposes of Republican leaders to assure us that in desire, and *ultimate* ends, they are with us, that they do not mean to allow the Union to be re-established upon any other basis than that of impartial negro suffrage throughout the country. But while we appreciate their motives we distrust their dodging, cowardly and backhanded management. Voting for negro suffrage in the District of Columbia, and asserting complete jurisdiction over the problem of reconstruction as against the President's policy last Winter, they have managed to get before the country an amendment which if adopted will remove the entire question of negro enfranchisement without the sphere of congressional jurisdiction in the rebellious States; or render the *subsequent* passage of the right sort of enabling acts extremely difficult, if not *dangerous*. Southern men may fairly complain of duplicity, and will not be slow to resent it, if enabling acts requiring negro suffrage be required as a condition of readmission *after* the adoption of the Congressional Amendment. The New York *World* is right in charging upon intelligent Republicans insincerity in their support of the amendment. We have had abundant assurance from them of their utter dislike of it, and of their intention to thwart by other means the injury to our cause which its adoption would occasion. With danger before us, Henry Wilson in the Senate, and some of his kinsmen in the House, it is not difficult to see that it will need every possible auxiliary to save the negro from being cheated of the ballot and the nation of a just settlement.

Let, then, the great stumbling block—"you don't allow the negro impartial suffrage in New York and the North"—over which Congress has already tripped and fallen, be at once and forever removed. The Republican majority, we have no doubt, under the recent manipulations of President Johnson, Seward and Raymond, will continue large and decisive in the State. The question is here free from all the complicated theories of national reconstruction. It is one of simple justice and honesty. Colored men not "possessed of a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, over and above all debts and incumbrances charged thereon," are, it is true, shielded from "direct taxation" by the provision we want stricken out. We will guarantee for such that they will not object to sharing the common lot of white men in that respect, if they also are possessed of the ballot. From this number of poor but brave and patriotic colored men many went forth from this State to fight for Liberty and Union in the late war. Some of them, unable to get their proffered services *accepted* by Gov. Seymour, went forth under the Massachusetts flag and fell at Fort Wagner, fellow martyrs, and honored companions of the heroic Col. Shaw. Others have returned again to their homes, and are loyal, industrious laboring men. Shall apathy or the meanest of mean prejudices put off longer our recognition of the equal citizenship of these men?

Our leading city journals have all recently alluded to the subject of the Convention, but not one, so far as we have observed, has spoken of the proscription of voters on account solely of color as any objection to the existing Constitution. The *Tribune* is conscious, not less than ourselves, of the gross injustice of this property qualification in its discrimination against the large majority of colored men, who are kept poor by mean prejudice and the adverse circumstances which grow out of it. It knows equally well the great obstacle this Northern proscription has been, and will continue to be while it lasts, to the progress of the cause of impartial suffrage Southward. There is no President Johnson, and not much of a Seward or Raymond left to act the part of Marplot here. Mr. Greeley is *the* leading, controlling genius of a majority of the voters of this State at the present time. We hope the *Tribune* will recommend its readers to vote for the Convention to amend the Constitution on the ground of its present flagrant injustice to the poorer and largest class of colored men. The decision of this State upon this question, during the next year, will give tone largely to the politics of the next Presidential campaign, if that shall occur in the regular order of succession without the deserved impeachment of the present incumbent. On this account the subject should have early, full, and frank discussion. A public opinion should be created, not only to make sure of having the Convention, but also to insure the subsequent selection of trustworthy delegates with reference to the pivotal question so intimately connected with national affairs.

It is a question of principle and general application. Without assuming to speak for the American Anti-Slavery Society, in this particular, we personally urge the importance of striking out the word *male* from the section we have quoted from the Constitution as qualification for voters. At present woman is not even shielded, as are the disfranchised colored men, from direct taxation. The pending Congressional amendment would close the hitherto open door of the national government in her face. With John Stuart Mill we claim for her in the State and nation equal enfranchisement with man.

We trust that the State Convention of colored men, called to meet at Albany on the 16th with reference to this question, may be largely attended, and inaugurate a vigorous movement among the colored people to claim for themselves full and equal enfranchisement. We hope Republicans will make it, what it really is, their cause. Abolitionists should rally and make efficient arrangements for one more campaign of lectures, Conventions, and the distribution of appropriate reading matter—instrumentalities which have been tried in the past and not found wanting in good results upon the public mind. "Democrats" want the Convention for their own interests, but instinctively fear it for reasons which may readily be divined. One of their organs says: "We trust our State Constitution will be left as it stands for the present, and that a vast majority of the people will vote against a Convention to revise it at a time when there is so steady a current of public sentiment in an anti-republican direction,"—that is, for the extension of the franchise.

As the war proclamation abolishing slavery cheered and strengthened the friends of liberty throughout the world, so will the triumph of impartial suffrage in the Empire State give heart and encouragement to our true Southern allies, now in most painful peril. For their sake and our own, in the interest of justice and freedom, we must strive for and win it.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER opened the Fraternity Course of Lectures on Tuesday evening last by an address, in Music Hall, Boston, on "The One Man Power *versus* Congress." He had an immense audience and a very enthusiastic reception. The address, though lengthy, we hope to present to our readers next week.

THE first blank in the short article by Mr. Phillips on "Impeachment," in last week's STANDARD, should have been filled with the words—"the President of Senate *pro tem.*" The second blank in same article should have been filled with the words "a majority."

MUNITIONS OF WAR FOR CONFEDERATES.

AMONG the resolutions adopted at the recent Soldiers Convention at Pittsburg was the following:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the duty of Congress to direct the President to remove from the States lately in rebellion all arms and munitions of war not required for immediate use by the portion of the army on duty there; and that therefore no arms or military stores, not needed for immediate use, shall be stored in any State lately in rebellion, until such State shall have been recognized by Congress as having resumed its place in the Union."

The significance of the above important resolution may be inferred by taking in connection the following statement from the trustworthy pen of Rev. Dr. Newman, of New Orleans, given in the N. Y. *Methodist*:

"Nor is it the least objectionable feature of Mr. Johnson's Administration that, having withdrawn the greater portion of the troops from the several garrisons, he has collected in these self-same garrisons immense quantities of military stores and ordnance sufficient to equip a large force. *There is to-day at Baton Rouge, La., ordnance of all kinds to equip an army of* 200,000 *men, with but a single regiment to protect them.* Although officially notified of the fact, he has paid no attention to the notifications of the danger involved. THE SOUTH WAS NEVER BETTER ARMED THAN NOW."

THE NATIONAL FINANCES.

THE Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, in reply to an inquiry as to what effect the success of the President's policy would have upon our National Securities, has written the following important letter. It deserves thoughtful consideration:

JOHN GIGER, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* In answer to your inquiry, "What effect the success of the President's views will have on the National Securities?" I am of opinion that its effect would be very injurious.

The President contends that the body of men acting as a Congress has no constitutional powers, and can do no valid act in the absence of the excluded States. The Congresses that authorized the war debt, and laid the internal duties to pay it, were composed of precisely the same number of Reprentatives, from the same States, as the present. If it should be decided that those Congresses had no constitutional existence, then the 5-20s, 10-40s, 7-30s, and the legal-tender greenbacks will have been issued without authority, and will be worthless.

Whether they would ever be redeemed would depend on what the President would consider a Constitutional Congress, after the admission of the rebel representatives, when the condition of the debts of both belligerents would be considered. Yours truly,

Sept. 21, 1866. THADDEUS STEVENS.

THE ILLEGAL CONGRESS.

A view similar to that expressed in the above letter from Mr. Stevens is presented by the Boston *Transcript*:

The President's declared opinions of the status of Congress will be anything but satisfactory to the holders of national obligations. If Johnson's theory be correct—as the national debt was incurred by an illegal Congress—government securities are not worth the paper upon which they are written. Large investors in this class of securities can afford to expend a portion of their surplus means to prevent the President's doctrines from being acknowledged by any other branch of the Administration than that domiciled at the White House. Suppose the Southern States, when admitted to Representation in Congress, shall demand that the rebel debt be placed upon the same footing with the national indebtedness, what better argument for that purpose can be given them than is supplied by President Jonhson, who impugns the legality of the Congress which incurred the vast expenditure? The "National Union party" of rebels, copperheads, and recreant Republicans, resolved at Philadelphia that the national debt should be held inviolate. President Johnson—the head of the party—pronounces the Congress which made the debt, a fraud upon the people, and as without right to exist. There is no legal national debt to-day if President Johnson's avowed sentiments are correct.

RETROGRESSION—ITS PECUNIARY RESULTS.

In the admirable letter from Rev. Edward Beecher to Henry Ward Beecher the pecuniary results of the Johnsonian policy are foretold in the following passage:

So far is it from being true that there is no danger of retrogression, that if the policy of Johnson prevails, the South will have a balance of power, in connection with Northern allies; and by following his principles as to Congress up to their logical issues, will be able to invalidate all the legislation of the war, restore slavery, assume the rebel debt, and repudiate that of the nation. If all States have an indefeasible right to representation; at all times, if all amendments to the Constitution should be initiated in a Congress composed of the representatives of all the States to be valid; if the present Congress only assumes to be a Congress, hanging on the outskirts of the government, and all this Johnson and his partisans have taught, what surer premises are needed to lead logically to all the results which have been specified? And are we to trust to the honor or moral integrity of those who through perjury initiated the rebellion, to avert the result? There is no safety but in a firm adherence to the fundamental principles of justice and honor. If we deviate from them, God will make our sin our punishment."

A LETTER from Caroline F. Putnam is in type and will appear next week; also an article from our friend C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, and a communication from Rev. Mr. Savery of South Hingham, Mass.

PERSONAL.

Wendell Phillips will deliver an address at the Cooper Institute on Thursday evening, October 25th.

Rev. H. H. Garnet, it is said, will soon be again installed Pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church, New York City, of which he was formerly the pastor.

Anna E. Dickinson is to give a political lecture at the Cooper Institute on Tuesday evening of next week. Her plea will be for "Justice as the only safe basis of Reconstruction."

William Wells Brown, who has, for the past two or three years, given himself mainly to his profession as a physician, is engaged upon a new book, to be entitled, "The Negro in the Great Rebellion."

George M. Snow, for many years commercial editor of the *Tribune*, died suddenly, the 27th ult., of heart disease, at his residence in this city, in the 55th year of his age.

The Norfolk County *Journal* says "there are large numbers of men who will vote for Mr. Phillips, in spite of himself, unless an opponent of shining intellect is presented as an alternative by the Republican party."

Mr. S. B. Chittenden has been nominated, by the Union Convention of the Third District of New York, for the unexpired term of the late Hon. James Humphrey, and for the XLth Congress.

Dr. Edward Beecher has written a letter to his brother Henry Ward, in which he controverts the position of his Brooklyn brother and accounts for his obliquity on the ground that one portion of Divine truth has become unbalanced in his mind, making his themes one-sided and false.

W. W. Broom, Esq., Editor of the *Temple of Opinions*, is prepared to lecture upon Impartial Suffrage. We have never heard Mr. Broom as a lecturer, but we know him to be a very energetic, untiring friend of impartial freedom. He is industriously circulating a large number of copies of the very valuable letter of MM. De Gasparin, Martin, Cochin and Laboulaye to the Loyal Publication Society of New York. He may be addressed at 79 John street, New York.

Capt. Robert Small, the hero of the steamer Planter, the history of which is so well known to our readers, was in Baltimore a few days last week. Capt. Small's commission, as captain of the Planter, expired at noon on Tuesday week. He intends retiring to private life, and to devote himself to agriculture on his plantations at Beaufort, S. C. He has raised a fine cotton crop this year, and proposes also to open a store in Beaufort, S. C. He sailed for that port last week.

Rev. Robert L. Collyer of Chicago preached a discourse on last Sunday evening, in the Church of the Messiah (First Unitarian), on "The Policy of the President." He took for his text the words—"First pure, then peaceable."—James iii., 17. From the report of the discourse in the Chicago *Tribune*, it must have been an incisive discussion of the subject. The preacher, in unsparing terms, condemned the Johnsonian policy of reconstruction. The church was crowded, and at times the audience gave evidence of their approval of the preacher's sentiments by applause.

Mrs. Caroline H. Dall has accepted an invitation to deliver a series of critical lectures on "Moses and his Law," in Chicago, Springfield, and Quincy, Ill. These lectures were given by her, with great acceptance, in Boston, last Spring. Mrs. Dall is also prepared to speak on Woman's Rights and Impartial Suffrage. She will accept invitations to lecture in any of the larger towns upon, or within easy access of the main line of Boston and Chicago travel. Mrs. Dall has been for many years an efficient advocate of equal rights for woman and the negro. There is probably no woman in this country, or abroad, so thoroughly qualified by persevering study and industrious research to speak upon the industrial aspects of the woman question. Her thought has grasped a wide range of topics. She is one of the truly representative women of our time. We hope invitations may be extended to her to lecture in this State and the chief towns upon the line of her Western trip. Her address, till October 13th, will be, No. 70 Warren Avenue, Boston, Mass., and after that date, till November 1st, Chicago, Ill., care of Rev. Robert Collyer.

LETTER FROM HON. GERRIT SMITH

CONCERNING SEVERAL THINGS.

PETERBORO, Sept. 21, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

MANY things of interest to your readers have occurred within the last two or three weeks. I will speak briefly of several of them.

1. *The Republican Convention of the State of New York.* It was a cowardly affair. It adopted the plan of peace put forth by our cowardly Congress. How infatuated are they who believe that peace can come from a plan which provides constitutional permission to disfranchise races, and constitutional obligation to add to this outrage the greater one of dropping these races, as entirely as if they were races of brutes, from the basis of representation and from all other political arrangements! The Convention, like Congress, is for leaving the black saviours of our country at the feet of slaveholding and negro-hating mercy. What this mercy is, the massacre of Memphis and New Orleans testify. The Convention prates of the protection which certain Congressional legislation is claimed to afford the negro. But the Freedman's Bureau bill and the Civil Rights bill are mere cobwebs in the way of the devils who are fired with revenge and armed with exclusive political power. How unlike the cold, cunning, calculating spirit of this Convention to the warm and generous one which animated the late Massachusetts Republican Convention! If this Autumn's elections in New England shall be more encouraging to the Republican party than the election in New York, the difference can be largely explained by the fact that this New York Convention either cared not to assert the truth which the hour called for, or had not faith in the susceptibility of the popular heart to her inspirations.

2. *The Democratic Convention of the State of New York.* There was nothing new in it. This spurious and abominable Democracy of the North still continues, all over the North, to be absorbed, first, in the purpose of bringing back the revolted States as soon as possible, to the end that it may as soon as possible renew its alliance with them; and, second, in the purpose of bringing them back with as much as possible of their former pro-slavery spirit and of their former scope for gratifying it, to the end that they may most harmonize with its own depraved character, and be most at variance with the best tendencies in the Republican party. The worse those revolted States shall be, the greater will be the gain to the Democratic party, and the greater the loss to the Republican. Come they back either as the Democratic or the Republican party proposes, and it will be defeat and death to the latter, but "length of days and long life" to the former.

3. *The Philadelphia Convention of Southern Unionists.* Great good will come of it; but vastly more, had there been no delegates to it from the Border States. Such delegates there should not have been; for, in those States impartial suffrage is not, as it is in the States south of them, a life and death question. But the most, even of such delegates, would have fallen in with the great body of the more Southern delegates, had it not been for the unhappy influence upon them of the simultaneous Northern assembly in the same city. The predominant concern of this assembly was in the approaching elections. How blessed to the whole land, had its one object been to encourage the Southern Convention to speak out its deep and undoubting convictions both of our appalling national perils and of that sure defence against them which is to be found alone in the exercise of impartial justice!

4. *The vigorous and scathing speech of Thaddeus Stevens at Bedford, Pa.* There are great and honest passages in that speech, which are worth to his reputation and to his country many fold more than all he lost by the enemy's burning his valuable property. I am both sorry and surprised to see that he favors the putting to death of a "few of the belligerents." My memory fails me, or in one of his speeches in Congress he espoused the doctrine of many eminent publicists, that treason is not chargeable in a civil war. The nation is disgraced by this long imprisonment of Jefferson Davis. Had there been proof of his violation of the laws of war, it should have been produced a year ago; and for nothing else than such violation should he have been imprisoned a single day. I think—though, in the light of his fearless and effective patriotism during the war, I say it reluctantly—that President Johnson does, in some respects, mistake the power of his high office, and usurp those of Congress. Nevertheless, I would honor him for letting Jefferson Davis go free.

Another thing which I regret in Mr. Stevens's speech, is his persisting in his claim that "the expenses and damages of the war" should be paid out of Southern property. Mr. Stevens seems never to have been impressed with the fact that the responsibility for the war was upon the North as well as upon the South. The war grew out of slavery and State sovereignty, and the North had contributed well nigh as much as the South to sustain both. Let not the North, then, claim any pay from the South. Better that she should give to than take from her impoverished sister. That the conqueror should require the large landed estates of the South to be broken up and parcelled out to the poor of the South, would not be unreasonable; but even this I would not urge—certainly not, unless the poor themselves urged it. I would require nothing from the South but what her own interests require—nothing, in a word, but what is necessary to save her from being a land of tears and blood. I hold to no "reconstruction" that is not prompted by love for the South. But this love must be wise as well as fraternal.

5. *The nomination of Gen. Butler for Congress.* I hope he may be elected. He deserves well of his country, for he has served her well. Who could have filled his place in Maryland? Who could have filled it in New Orleans? Who sees more clearly and enunciates more faithfully the equal rights of all men? There are strong and brave men in the present Congress. With one or two Butlers by their side—with one or two strong and brave men by their side, who, from first to last, would have insisted on justice for the black man, and scorned to accept mocking substitutes for it—our unhappy country might, not improbably, have been saved.

Gen. Butler was much censured for having the man put to death who pulled down the flag. But he best knew both what perils to our cause were involved in that offence, and what example it was necessary to make of the offender. The General's reputation suffered somewhat, in both Europe and America, for his treatment of a class of women in New Orleans. But he was grossly misrepresented at this point. There was nothing in his famous order on that occasion which a gentleman of the most chivalrous and delicate regard for the privileges and sacredness of woman could not have dictated.

6. *The deep desire to get Wendell Phillips into Congress.* I would that it might be gratified. The presence of this very eloquent, very able, and very noble man in Congress is amongst the things most to be desired. And with all my heart would I rejoice to see that great and good man William Lloyd Garrison also in Congress.

7. *Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's "Cleveland Letter"* is the only other thing I will refer to. Mr. Beecher has, indeed, quit the Republican and joined the Democratic party! He has done this strange thing, notwithstanding his great head, and great heart, and his unsurpassed powers of speech. And he has done it, too, notwithstanding his indignation at the charge of having done it. The dear man deceives himself. Because his noble soul is unchanged and is as full as ever of the spirit of justice and love, he assumes that his political party relations are unchanged. But former and other political issues are obsolete or suspended. Going for the Congressional plan of "Reconstruction" is all that is meant to-day by belonging to the Republican party. Going for the President's plan is all that is meant to-day by belonging to the Democratic party. Mr. Beecher goes for the President's plan, and therefore Mr. Beecher belongs to the Democratic party. Whence came it, that he joined it?

1. Almost all men, and doubtless Mr. Beecher with them, think it better to belong to one or the other of the parties—to go with one or the other of them on the question that is up for settlement. To cut yourself off from party is held to be cutting yourself off from influence, and to be morally wrong. I recall, at this moment, but a single instance, where a member of Congress did not act with a party in Congress, and was not nominated for his office by a party. And even he, were he again in public life, would, perhaps, be frightened from repeating his presumptuous isolation by the remembrance of what it cost him. He could hardly forget that, notwithstanding no Member of the House took a larger part than himself in the debates, the press, nevertheless, taking advantage of the odium and weakness of that isolation, fell upon him, and made the people believe that what time he was not hobnobbing with slaveholders, he was wasting in sleep. 2. Another step in explaining Mr. Beecher's change of party is that the Republican party is on too low a plane to retain a fast hold of such a man. No one believes that, if this party were for equal justice and impartial suffrage, Mr. Beecher would have left it. He saw that, in respect to their willingness to leave the black man helpless in the hands of his enemy, there was, alas, but too little to choose between the parties! 3. Seeing no prospect, either soon or late, of a reconstruction of the revolted States on the principles of righteousness, Mr. Beecher went for the speediest reconstruction, and therefore for the Democratic party. He believed the evils of any reconstruction to be less than the evils of no reconstruction.

That Mr. Beecher's arguments for the present and unrestricted restoration of the revolted States are flimsy and even foolish, is only what is absolutely necessary. For such restoration is so utterly absurd, as to defy the possibility of even one sound argument for it. Hear what he says: "Our theory of government has no place for a State except in the Union." So, too, our theory of family government has no place for a child except in the family. But here and there is a wicked child who, like those revolted States, breaks out of his place. It is for the family government to impose the conditions of his return. But no more than it is for the National government to impose the conditions of the return of those States. The best answer to the nonsense that States cannot break out of the Union is *that they have done so*—as the best answer to the nonsense that the Constitution stands in the way of the nation's prescribing the terms of their return, is that the Conqueror is above the Constitution. The Constitution is the supreme law between the States when they are at peace with each other: but when at war the law of war and of conquest is supreme. Under this law the revolted States that have, by their own acts, lost all title to a place in the Union, can be kept out of it forever—though I know neither Republican nor Democrat, who could have them kept out a day beyond what is necessary.

Mr. Beecher knows, as well as any one, that the pro-slavery spirit and the rebellion spirit at the South are still as frantic and as murderous as ever—and yet he would, in effect, take off all restraint from these spirits, and allow them the free course they would certainly have under immediate and unconditional reconstruction. We know that a turbid stream will run itself clear. But we are yet to learn that giving scope to an evil spirit will make it less evil. All over the South there are constant outbreakings of the spirit that reigns in the South. Some of them send shudders through Christendom. Only let the rebels, as the Democratic party proposes, have their own way, and the South will exhibit more horrible specimens

Mr. Beecher has gone which denies the fact, and which makes the shutting out of the negro from all but negro society its first object and its constant work.

Mr. Beecher says that the negro must take up his march from ignorance to civilization. The Republican party admits it, and would protect him in this march. Not so the Democratic party.

But I must close. Mr. Beecher has fallen into two great mistakes. First, that the rebels will come right by our merely loving and trusting them. But to this moral power we must, at least for a season, add material power. They must be controlled, as well as won. Sixteen or seventeen months ago, they were in a plastic and improvable state. Their gratitude for the forgiveness and beneficence with which the nation was ready to surprise them would of itself have gone far to soften their spirit and change their character. But the unhappy policy then adopted of lifting them up into the place of the conqueror, and sinking the loyal into the place of the conquered—of treating our foes as our friends and our friends as our foes—begot in the rebels such a spirit of arrogance and domination, as no, however loving and trustful, spirit on our part can alone subdue. His second great mistake is in joining the Democratic party. I say not that he should have remained in the Republican party. Perhaps, its shortcomings would have justified his leaving it. But in the light of even the very poorest opinion that candor can possibly form of the Republican party, to leave it for the Democratic party is to "jump from the frying-pan into the fire."

GERRIT SMITH.

SHOULD RADICAL ABOLITIONISTS GO TO CONGRESS?

BY MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

No! says the objector: if they would maintain their personal integrity and power over the people; if they would achieve the most ultimate good for the race and the nation, let them remain outside the "muddy pool of politics."

The "muddy pool" can and must be cleared, a radical work must be done, lest as a nation we perish. By sending to Washington men of courage and conscience, capable of solving the problem of our present difficulties, we take the first onward step towards a safe reconstruction of the new nation. It is a most demoralizing sentiment, not to be entertained one moment by leading minds, that government is a system of experiments and expedients, to be left to the selfishness and tergiversation of wily politicians, instead of a fixed science, capable of demonstration, and to be safely administered by those only who have studied the laws of national life. They who have stood thirty years before the American people the unwavering defenders of the fundamental principles of government as declared by the Fathers, should be able to maintain their honest convictions and wield their legitimate power in the councils of the nation. When the people choose such men to represent them, it is a clear indication that the time has come for downright individual integrity in places of trust and power. The atmosphere of Washington does not make men new, it only brings out the real character of those who go there. They who have the power of eloquence by which the depths of men's souls are stirred should gladly take any post for action by which their theories may be put in practice. Representative men need responsibility, for their own discipline, as well as power to scourge other men to duty. It is one thing to stand on the outskirts of a struggle and calmly criticize the battle-field and the blunders of its actors, and quite another to restore the bewildered hosts and lead the van to death or victory. If they who clearly point the way to national safety refuse the responsibility which a confiding people would put into their hands, they prove that they either doubt the practicability of the lessons they have taught or their own power to do in Congress what they have so mercilessly lashed other men for not doing.

If it is possible for men to be honest in public life; if the safety of the nation demands such men for leaders, a responsibility rests on those who can stand firm mid dangers and difficulties that cannot be postponed or ignored. Many rejoiced when the "working men" of Massachusetts' Third district nominated Wendell Phillips to Congress, and many were sad over his letter of declination.

Heretofore the people had not named their Representatives, but politicians had selected party men for party purposes, but in this action of the "working men" it seemed that a new era was dawning upon us, and that every State that could boast one true man might, by the example of Massachusetts, be emboldened to risk him in Washington. But Mr. Phillips's refusal to go seemed like barring out the light of the sun from the thick darkness that envelops our political horizon. One reason why the South has governed the nation and prolonged the dynasty of slavery, is that she has always sent her ablest men to Congress, who by personal power have carried every measure. Let, then, the people of the North insist that their ablest men shall inaugurate the reign of freedom. I hope the "working men" will not accept Mr. Phillips's refusal, for his reason is a bad one. "I feel, says he, that in accepting office I should, paradoxical as it may seem, incur responsibility to a far greater extent than I should gain power." This is just what politicians say—"If these Radicals once had the responsibility of carrying out a certain line of policy or set of measures, they would soon change their philosophy and fall back into line with the rest of us." All legitimate power has its corresponding responsibilities, and no unrecognized, unmeasured, unquestioned power is ever safe. That behind the throne that moves men as puppets, whether for good or ill, is not healthy either for the individual or the State. Such is the influence of Woman, of the Priesthood; such, for example, has been the power of Thurlow Weed over the politics of the nation for the last forty years. Who doubts that it would have been better for himself and the country had he had more direct responsibility and less unrecognized power. He always declined office for the same reason Mr. Phillips gives: he felt he had more power behind the scene than as an actor on the stage.

Now, if it is possible for true men to stand in Congress, the quicker they go there the better. If it is not possible, then stop criticizing them for what in the nature of things cannot be done. Let us give up the higher law and accept that of expediency as the only point on which to rest the lever that is to move the world.

What John Stuart Mill is in the British Parliament, that should Wendell Phillips be in the American Congress. When *he* was nominated he said to his constituents—"I cannot be a party man to push party measures, but if you wish me to take a seat in Parliament as John Stuart Mill, to speak and vote, as in the past, from my highest convictions of right and duty, I will accept the honor offered me." On such terms he took his place and he has done honor to himself, his country and his race.

It was with the liberty and power of high moral principle that I hoped to see Wendell Phillips in Congress, where he could not long have stood but as a centre round whom the best and bravest men would have rallied to help him wield that power that belongs to those alone who walk by faith as well as sight.

HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

We find in the Philadelphia *Press* the following account of an interesting interview between Judge Kelley and several clergymen of Philadelphia a few days since:

A PLEASANT INTERVIEW.—No man has been more fiercely assailed by the enemies of our country, North and South, than Hon. Wm D. Kelley, the distinguished Representative in Congress from the Fourth district of this city. In view of this fact it must be very encouraging to the patriotic purposes of that gentleman, as well as very grateful to his personal feelings, to find that his public services elicit the fervent sympathy and cordial approbation of men who, as Christian teachers and national patriots, rank with the wisest, best and most faithful in the land.

On Monday afternoon, 24th ult., the Judge received at his home an informal, friendly call from a number of our city pastors belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Among others of the company were Rev. Drs. Castle, Moore, Parish and Carrow, and Rev. Messrs. Neill, Cookman, Grey, Pattison, Mullen, Kirkpatrick, Tatt, Long, McConnell, Cather and Freund. The reverend gentlemen were welcomed by their honorable friend with a graceful dignity and hearty cordiality. After the usual preliminary of an introduction, the Judge proceeded, in that familiar and happy style which is so natural to him, to address some remarks to his reverend visitors. The topics upon which he touched were not strictly political, his design being rather to show the relation of Christian teachers to the great national issues of the day, and the importance of their influence in effecting the complete restoration of our country. The central idea around which the subordinate thoughts of the address were grouped, was the "*Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man.*" He regarded this as a cardinal truth of the Gospel, and expressed his belief that its earnest promulgation by the clergy would accomplish more than any other means for the adjustment of our national difficulties. Though the address was quiet and conversational in its manner, it contained occasional flashes of that earnest and moving eloquence for which the speaker is so justly celebrated. At its conclusion the company were presented to Mrs. Kelley and the ladies of the family. This visit, though informal and friendly merely, is very significant in these times. It clearly indicates that the great heart of the Christian public beats in sympathy with those public servants who stand upon the principle of eternal justice, and ignoring the unreasonable and unrighteous prejudices of the past, labor to restore the country upon a foundation that will stand as long as time shall last. The honorable Judge is working with all his great energies and powers upon this basis, and by the favor of God and the approbation of loyal and Christian people, he has already placed himself among the first American statesmen.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, October 1, 1866.

THE Trustees of the Public Library of the city of Boston have just published a Supplement to their "Index to the Catalogue of Books in the Bates Hall"—the upper and principal hall—in that institution. This work is entitled Index rather than Catalogue, because it is, in fact, an abridgement of the real Catalogue of the Library, which is in manuscript, written on cards of uniform size, expressing the full title of each book and pamphlet. The Index now fills three volumes, handsomely printed in double columns in the largest size of octavo. The first, printed in 1858, gave the names of 19,000 volumes, the number then contained in the lower hall. The second, printed in 1861, extended to nine hundred pages, and included 55,000 volumes. And the third, just printed, contains in seven hundred and eighteen pages the titles of nearly 34,000 additional works, including the very valuable bequest of Theodore Parker, comprising more than 11,000 volumes and 2,400 pamphlets. This list is exclusive of duplicates, and exclusive also of more than 4,000 books which came too late for insertion in the present volume. It is characteristic of the liberal arrangements of the Trustees, that this large and handsome book is sold for two dollars, about the cost of the press-work and binding. As they call it in the title-page "First Supplement," it appears that they expect a continued increase of the Boston Public Library.

Just before the commencement of the present year, the Trustees of this Library adopted a new rule in relation to the reading-room, namely, the keeping of the various reviews, magazines, pamphlets and papers by an attendant, instead of their distribution and exposure on the tables. It was found that the extreme liberality of the original arrangement was abused by many persons. Valuable periodicals were stolen, illustrated papers and magazines were mutilated, and others were defaced by scribbling. Various precautionary, defensive measures were adopted from time to time, in the hope of being able to preserve the first arrangement, by which all the periodical publications, representing an annual expense of fifteen hundred dollars, were presented to the view as well as the choice of all comers. After a patient trial of several methods for preventing these losses and injuries, it was found necessary to withdraw the periodical literature from exposure on the tables, and place it in charge of an attendant. In place of it, the tables contain printed alphabetical lists of the two hundred periodicals, of various grades, belonging to the reading-room, and the attendant hands out any one inquired for, receiving the name of the borrower, who must return it before leaving the room. Under this method, which has now been in use nearly a year, there has been no loss of books and no mutilation. The books in question are used only by those who really wish to use them, and when their week, month or quarter is past, they are in good condition to be bound and placed in another department of the library.

Thus, no doubt, the literature in question serves its most important purposes. It is to be regretted that it cannot continue to serve one more purpose, namely, to attract to the habit of reading those who have hitherto lacked the inclination or the opportunity for it, by the *sight* of these treasures spread before the eye of the casual visitor. The Public Library has now become one of the "lions" of Boston, a thing to be shown, with proud satisfaction, to every stranger visiting the city. But many who carry their friends there under the influence of this feeling have never used the reading-room, and know little or nothing of what it contains. If these chance callers could *see* this choice and various collection lying on the tables before them, and could take up this, that and the other for inspection before sitting down to read, a considerable portion of them would make the discovery that here is something *worth* sitting down for, and worth calling again for. A part of the use of a free public library is to attract the uncultivated part of the community towards literature; to make them acquainted with its enjoyments, as the first step towards an acquisition of its benefits. Many a man would take up *Harper*, or the *Atlantic*, or *Macmillan*, or *Blackwood*, if it were lying ready to his hand, who would not think of making a selection from a list of unknown names, or of asking for something, as if he wanted that, when the first glance might show him that it had no interest or value for him. The sight of a book or a paper greatly increases the chance for enlarging its circle of readers, and making a wider diffusion of its facts or thoughts.

Of course, however, there is a balance of advantages and disadvantages to be kept in view, and one useful object must not be suffered to counteract another. I am disposed to believe in the judicious management of the very intelligent board of Trustees who manage this matter. It is asserted, on their part, that the attendance in the reading-room is not diminished since the change in question. The hundred chairs which the room contains are sometimes all filled, and it seems probable that an enlargement of this department of the Library will by and by be found necessary. Besides the periodicals, this room contains a large number of valuable books of reference, Gazetteers, Atlases, Dictionacies, and Encyclopædias in various languages, which are accessible to the visitors without any call on the attendant.

It is to be hoped that our morals and manners will by and by be so improved that public property will be respected on principle, carefully used, and conscientiously kept from injury. Until then we must bear, as patiently as may be, the evils of the transition stage through which we are passing.

NORTH.

AN APPEAL FOR AID.

THE Managers of the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons, 340 South Front street, Philadelphia, would appeal to the friends of the colored people for aid to enable them to purchase enlarged accommodations and maintain the Institution. The present dwelling is full, while numerous applicants are anxious for admittance. An opportunity now offers to purchase a building which would furnish room enough for the female department and allow of the organization of one for respectable aged colored men, which want of room and means has hitherto prevented.

The management and the inmates are of various religious denominations. Religious meetings are held weekly by ministers of different sects.

We know it is said the Alms House is open to the poor, but when we remember that the inmates of the Poor House have not always led commendable lives, we can readily see why the respectable poor shrink from a residence therein. We would therefore hope that each one will endeavor to act as though he or she expected to be themselves placed in like dependent circumstances, and give liberally in aid of the Home. Contributions thankfully received by the Treasurer, Samuel R. Shipley, 111 South Fourth st.; by the President, Dillwyn Parrish, No. 1017 Cherry st., Vice-President Stephen Smith, 921 Lombard st.; Secretary, Mr. Balderston, 902 Spring Garden st., or by Wm. J. Alston, 532 Powell st., Chairman of Managers.

THE committee of the Eyre Defence and Aid Fund held a meeting a few days ago to report progress. Mr. Carlyle was in the chair, and Mr. Ruskin, at some length, vindicated the course taken by the committee. He contended that Gov. Eyre was not placed in the position of a judge when the insurrection in Jamaica broke out, but as an executive officer, responsible for the safety of the island and of the inhabitants; that he was not therefore bound by the law, but was justified in acting above the law, and in taking such steps as he believed to be necessary. Having thus acted, and having saved the colony, "the official removal of him from his place was an act of national imbecility, which had not hitherto its parallel in history. It was the act—as this threat of prosecution was the cry—of a nation blinded by its avarice to all true valor and virtue!"

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

COUNCIL No. 4 U. L. OF A.,
BEAUFORT, S. C., Sept. 22, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR: Please allow me to state, through the medium of THE STANDARD, that I have been directed by the unanimous vote of the Union League of this vicinity, to return our sincere thanks to Mr. C. K. Whipple for his kind agency in gratuitously procuring for our Council your most invaluable paper. In returning our thanks, I beg to say in behalf and for the Union League, that we fully appreciate the situation, as well as the noble stand taken by THE STANDARD.

I am, sir, very respectfully yours,
L. S. LANGLEY, Sec'y. U. L. of A.

FOR THE STANDARD.

OUR SITUATION.

How stands our cause to-day?
Who are the victors now?
What potent power holds sway?
By whose consent, and how?
Has not the people's chosen Chief
Brought our proud hopes to shame and grief?

We fought and gained the field,
Then voted our work done;
And now, unasked, we yield
The victories we've won:
By our consent, our standard sheet
Lies trampled 'neath the vanquished's feet.

The "vanquished" now no more,
But "victors" proud and bold!
Since we, through craven fear,
Our nation's birth-right sold—
Surrendering justice, preferring caste,
Despite the lessons of the past!

Past compromise with shame
Shrouded our homes in gloom,
Made black our nation's fame,
Rolled back the black man's doom;
We thought to take his rights alone—
Unconsciously we lost our own.

We called him to the fight,
To save *us* from *our* foes:
He came, and black and white
Now side by side repose.
And can we, o'er that common grave,
Yield up the cause they died to save?

Alas, how sad the thought!
Our work is done in vain;
A triumph, dearly bought,
Lies buried with the slain;
Our nation's *right* to life to-day
Has found a *deeper* grave than they!

That right we may redeem;
One chance doth yet remain;
Be JUST! our nation then
Its proud throne shall regain:
Though wrong may triumph for a day,
'Tis not defeat, 'tis but delay.

For Justice *will* prevail,
And right *must* triumph yet,—
Ah! surely it is well
That we do not forget!
That He who rules the world alone
Is "keeping watch above His own."

Oh, God! in mercy stay
Thy justly pending wrath,
Which threat'ning hangs to-day
Doom-like above our path!
"Save us from ourselves!" "Give us to see"
That all have equal rights with Thee!

M.

LITERARY.

The *Christian Examiner*, for September, contains a noticeable article on "The German War for the Union," by Friedrich Schütz, a writer eminently qualified for the work he has therein undertaken.

The London *Quarterly Review* (American Reprint by Leonard Scott Publishing Co.) contains articles on Wellington, the Huguenots, Iron and Steel, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the Albert Nyanza, Bishop Wilson, India, Jamaica, and the political situation in England.

The Boston *Transcript* announces that a new magazine, edited in Boston, but published in New York, is about to appear. All its articles will be anonymous, it will "aim to develop new authors," and it is to be under the editorial control of a lady and gentleman very widely known in literature.

A weekly paper in the Dutch language has just been started in this city under the editorial management of Mr. Hermann H. Niemann. It is a neat and clearly printed sheet of eight pages, containing all the important news of the day and a variety of literary matter, and is published at No. 166 William st., at the price of $5 a year. It is called *De Nederlander*.

Messrs. Ticknor & Fields have not given us a better, if even so good, a number of *Every Saturday* as the present issue, No. 39. It contains the opening pages of Miss Thackeray's new novel of "The Village on the Cliff;" an additional chapter of "Black Sheep," by Edmund Yates; a charming tale by Anthony Trollope; an essay by the "Country Parson;" and a fine poem entitled "Cleopatra," by Swinburne. This is but a portion of the contents of this number, which, in point of variety and excellence, compares favorably with any magazine published in England or America.

The New York *Social Science Review*, for the 3d quarter of the current year, comes to us in an enlarged form and with an ambitious array of titles. The present number contains a fine lithographic portrait of Herbert Spencer and an article on "Crime and Punishment" from the pen of O. B. Frothingham, which breathes throughout the liberal, humane drift of the great Universalist's mind—consistently demanding a merely reformatory scope for "punishment" in this life as well as in the next. A kindred subject is treated in a paper on "The Congregate System of Juvenile Reformation," which describes, at some length, the working of the New York House of Refuge and advocates the extension of the system there pursued.

The Loyal Publication Society of New York, although having closed its labors some time ago, was partially revived for the purpose of publishing a translation, by Miss Booth, of the letter addressed by the French friends of the United States and of Liberty—MM. de Gasparin, Martin, Cochin, and Laboulaye—to that society, and, through it, to the people of this country. They, who view our party turmoils from a dispassionate standpoint, apart from the agitations incident to close proximity, take the extreme Radical ground of Equal Rights as our only salvation.

The Society have also reprinted Peter Cooper's Reconstruction letter to the President, published in a recent STANDARD.

The *Herald of Health* again bristles with renowned names in its table of contents. An article on "The Health of Girls" treats of a subject that cannot be sounded too often in the deaf ears of the vanity-besotted devotees of Goddess Fashion who persist in murdering the budding loveliness intrusted to their "care" by lacing the body into forms invented by modistes but tabooed by nature. A similar lecture on tight shoes were not amiss, for, although the subject is not quite as vital, the folly of the latter abomination is not less egregious. A more truly humane and elevating lay-sermon to the young could not easily be preached than the one Horace Greeley favors us with in "A True Life." A serious error, however, has been made by the printers in the 28th line of the 2d paragraph: after the words "wealth and renown are" should follow the word "not"—the absence of which entirely perverts Mr. Greeley's meaning. The *Herald of Health* is one of the few publications which cannot fail to be worth more than their price to *all* attentive readers.

The *Atlantic*, for October, contains a just and much-needed explanation and vindication of the widely-abused "Darwinian Theory." What a pity that, when a valuable thing appears, it must be cut so short? "Various Aspects of the Woman Question" is an article so remarkable in its quaint and slashing style as to deserve general perusal from that cause alone. In the form of a Conversation, it endeavors, apparently, to present the various conflicting views on the matter, each in moderation and fairness to the other. The "conservative" side, however, holds the last word in the article, as it evidently does in the author's mind. "Diogenes"—who should have, for his cold irony, been named "Mephistopheles"—in the last passage beginning on p. 429, "puts" the "test-question" fairly to the present race of bonneted idolaters, who supply a more *telling* argument (whether *sound* or not) to the enemies of their enfranchisement, by their own perversity, than could be contrived by the adroitest slander. The line drawn by "Aristippus," on p. 432, between the "minor and major," and the easy way in which he puts that vexed question on a basis consistent with the Universal Suffrage principle, is admirable. But, his principles being correct in the matter, one of his deductions, that concerning "wives," is still wrong, because based on the patient assumption of a phenomenen which is itself a nuisance, as an irremediable fixed fact. He would "exclude wives" from his rule, "because they are not independent."—"Just so, my noble lord"—and therefore you should go at once and strive, all you can, to *make* them "independent," after which consummation you will no longer need to argue round in a circle after this wise! The argument of "Hipparchia" cannot be better described than by saying that it seems a plain, direct—though, in the interest of the author's views, a too *shy*—statement of the Woman's Rights question by one who believes in its affirmative. We will not say the author has been unfair. But, had he been more radically inclined himself, he *might* have allowed "Hipparchia" to answer "Aristippus's" weak points, not merely to state her own strong ones.

SUMMARY.

THE reorganization of the Republican party in New York city, as provided for by recent action of the State Committee, has been accomplished under the chairmanship of Amor J. Williamson. The political complexion is decidedly Greeleyish. This resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That we recommend to the various Ward Associations that they do not nominate any man for the high and important position of Congressman of the United States, or member of the Legislature of this State, unless the said nominee come out and endorse the platform and address adopted by the Syracuse Convention; also, the reconstruction policy of Congress."—Gen. Grant has written a letter rebuking Col. Hillyer for an attempt to place Grant before the public as a supporter of the President's policy. Grant says he wishes to influence no one in politics.—The returns received from the late town elections in Connecticut indicate in almost every case large gains on the Republican side.—On the 25th and 26th ult., a large and spirited Soldiers and Sailors Convention was held in Pittsburg, Pa., at which the Republican-Congressional doctrine received much aid and comfort, and the President some sound raps, and the negro—nothing! This is the most we can make of their resolves.—On the 28th ult., a meeting of colored citizens, comprising two companies of *black soldiers*, was held in Pittsburg, Pa., at which Frederick Douglass, James Redpath, and John Burns of Gettysburg, spoke. The *Tribune's* correspondent thence says: "There is some soreness among the colored people because there were no negro soldiers sent to the other Convention, even from Massachusetts."—Gen. Dix was lately appointed to two offices in one day, after his rejection of the Hague Ministry—to the Naval Office of New York, and as Minister to the Court of France, whence Mr. Bigelow has been recalled at his own request. The General, after a few days hesitation, took the better-paying one of the two places—the Naval Office, but, soon thereafter, resigned it again for the other.—Gen. Ewing, another of the dignitaries of the Cleveland Convention, has received the Hague Mission.—Still another of that "small and daring band," Gen. Couch, of Massachusetts—of "arm-in-arm" notoriety—has been appointed Collector at Boston.—Montgomery Blair has received the "Conservative," or renegade nomination of the fifth Maryland District for Congress; but the original, dyed-in-the-wool, "true-blues" will probably prefer their old choice, Benj. S. Harris, who received the censure of the House for his disloyalty during the war.—At a Democratic procession in Baltimore the other night, the transparencies displayed the following diabolical joking: "We are in favor Negro Sufferage—the way they suffered in New Orleans." A coffin was carried, labelled "John L. Thomas's and Thad. Stevens's overcoat."

IN Henry Ward Beecher's volume of "Life Thoughts," we find the following passage, which deserves profound study: "A conservative young man has wound up his life before it was unreeled. We expect old men to be conservative, but when a nation's young men are so, its funeral bell is already rung." Mr. Beecher's age is now a matter of unusual interest. —*Tribune.*

"WHEN we find a man anywhere prating about the Constitution of the United States, spot him: he's a traitor."—[*Andrew Johnson's campaign speech at Nashville.*

"And now let me commit to your hands the Constitution of thirty-six States," etc., etc.—[*Andrew Johnson's 100 speeches in his campaign tour.*

THE London *Morning Herald*, a few days ago, declared that Mr. Goldwin Smith was unfit for the society of gentlemen. This (says the *Western Morning News*) was a strong assertion, which seems to cast doubt upon the social qualifications of its maker. Mr. Smith now writes a letter which exhibits at least one mark of the true gentleman—self-restraint under provocation. The charge against him was based upon the circumstance that when he was in the United States he dined with Gen. Butler. Mr. Smith replies that he is not aware that it is usual for gentlemen when they are invited to dine with official persons to inquire into their conduct, public or private; and he never heard that English officers in the Crimea refused to dine with Marshal Pelissier, though he did shut up a lot of Algerine Arabs in a cave and burn them alive. But though this would be sufficient answer, he has a better one. He did do that which the English officers in the Crimea neglected to do; he did inquire into the assertions made respecting Gen. Butler, and he found them to be quite untrue. He says: "Before I entered Gen. Butler's tent or took his hand—before I accepted any invitation which was likely to bring me into contact with him, I had satisfied myself that the charges made against him by the partisans of the South—so far, at least, as they concerned his honor—were entirely unfounded, and in particular that he had never given up the women of New Orleans, as was alleged, to the violence of the soldiery, nor maltreated, or threatened with maltreatment, any decent woman whatever. His proclamation threatened women who grossly insulted officers and soldiers in the streets, going the length of spitting in an officer's face, and had thereby nearly provoked a collision between the garrison and the inhabitants of that vast and turbulent city, with the penalty, or rather the stigma, inflicted on immodest women by the local law. The proclamation was effectual. The insults—and with the insults the danger—ceased. No women suffered any punishment or severity whatever."

Advertisements.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at 727 Filbert street, on Fifth-day, the 11th inst., at 4 o'clock, p. m.

G. M. S. P. JONES, Secretary.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

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NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

Among the new Books of the year, none have been more kindly received by the Press than this. Indeed, where other works have received brief notices, columns have been given to this, and, in almost every instance, the Book has been highly commended. We clip brief extracts from a few journals which show the general tenor of all:

Mr. Wells has put the thought, the practical experience, the close observation, and the professional collection of a life-time into this important physiological work. He treats, as Lavater did, of Physiognomy, shows its harmony with Phrenology, and explains, to elucidate both sciences, the whole structure of the human body.—*Philadelphia Press.*

No one can read the book with any degree of attention without deriving much benefit from it, and its thorough study would furnish one with a knowledge of the signs of character indispensable to success in any walk of life.—*New Jerusalem Messenger.*

This exhaustive and admirable work defines Physiognomy and shows its benefits. * * It contains a vast amount of intelligence, and ought to find its way to every private and public library in the land.—*Herald of Health.*

Take such a volume as this, and every one must acknowledge that Physiognomy opens a wide field for interesting investigation.—*N. Y. Daily Times.*

A voluminous and very comprehensive work, taking the student by a thousand paths to a conclusion as to its entire correctness of theory, demonstrated by multitudes of the aptest illustrations. It is very entertaining and instructive, its results being the observations of a life-time reduced to the most succinct form, telling the reader in little of great things he should further investigate.—*Boston Gazette.*

Mr. Wells has given us, in this elaborate treatise, which is tastily printed and profusely illustrated, the most entertaining and instructive book yet published on the subject. It presents not the opinions of an enthusiast, but the clear, earnest, logical conclusions of one who, by patient study and untiring devotion, has wrought out a theory which can be reduced to practical service.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

The book is not intended for light reading, but rather as a study; yet no one can take it up without learning many things of a most intensely interesting nature, which he will be surprised at never having thought of before.—*N. Y. Daily News.*

Mr. Wells has brought in support of his own large and varied knowledge of the subject which he treats, the corroborated testimony of eminent and accepted writers on the same subject. The volume may be said to be almost exhaustive of the subject. The whole matter is most ably treated by Mr. Wells. His style is clear and concise, and he sustains his position by facts drawn from observation and sustained by comparison and illustration.—*American Art Journal.*

A valuable work, finely executed, which should be generally read. Its illustrations alone are of sufficient interest to repay the outlay, while the reading matter is valuable and correct.—*Auburn Advertiser.*

This is the largest and undoubtedly by far the best and most comprehensive work upon the subject of Physiognomy ever published. We bespeak for it a rapid sale, as it contains matter of great interest to all class

Miscellaneous Department.

WHAT I SAW IN THE WINDOW PANES.

Mountains, hills, and little vales,
Little ships with snow-white sails.

Pearly birds with wide-spread wings,
Pretty, airy, fairy things;

Queer landscape, curious sky,
High as the window was high.

Palaces that nothing cost,
Builded by the king, Jack Frost.

STANLEY H. PARKER.

Pittsfield, Mass., Sept., 1866.
—*Boston Transcript.*

WOMEN AND POLITICS.

From the Rochester Weekly Express.

Among numerous other gratifying indications of popular enthusiasm at our meetings this Fall, we are most heartily glad to notice the presence and cheering interest of so many Union women. We are glad, not only because we rejoice to have the powerful aid of woman in the good cause in which we are engaged; but yet more for woman's own sake, because there is a special fitness and necessity, that her patriotic sympathies should be actively enlisted for the salvation and highest progress of the country. This is not an ordinary party contest, and if it were, partisan politics have become infinitely more "respectable" than they used to be. They have been developed from the low, petty and disgusting squabble for office and patronage, into the higher realm of moral ideas and a contest for great principles of liberty and justice. This has ennobled our political campaigns; this only makes it fitting and proper that woman's sympathies should be enlisted in them—in fact, this alone makes them worthy of man's consideration. For we hold that either politics or any other human interest which is not fit for woman's attention and regard is not fit for any decent and respectable man to engage in.

We would not by any means have woman take part in political squabbles where men, not principles, were at stake. It is only since the great war has cleared the political atmosphere, and made our politics purer and better by lifting them above the arena of corruption to the higher platform of principle that woman has manifested any interest in party contests. Who could imagine that noble-hearted and truly womanly woman, Anna E. Dickinson, who has plead so earnestly the cause of the soldiers, the negro, and of all humanity, making a political speech on that question whether we ought to vote for Scott or Pierce, Gen. Taylor or Lewis Cass, or taking part in the "hard cider and roast beef" campaign of 1840. The idea is too monstrous to be thought of for a moment. Yet such were almost the only issues presented in political campaigns before the war. It is not strange that the few women who in years past have taken an interest in political discussions, have almost universally worked with a party that was so small and so far removed from all chance of success that it seemed to be rather a moral than a political organization. It is no wonder that under these circumstances, the great mass of women have never asked for the ballot or greatly cared which party succeeded in the unprincipled conflict.

But the world has changed greatly of late. Politics are no longer degrading, but in the highest degree ennobling, either to man or woman. To be deeply and earnestly interested in the great cause of humanity and human progress is not only manly but thoroughly womanly as well. We cannot conceive our highest ideal of true womanhood as one who not only takes no part but feels no interest in the great questions of the age. The old ideal of womanly and wifely devotion to her liege master, with scarcely a thought except for his welfare, may be highly flattering and perhaps gratifying to us "lords of creation;" but when we consider what scamps, rascals, etc., so many men are, and how unworthy the best of us are of such costly sacrifice, we may well doubt if this is the highest destiny of a good woman's life—whether it is worth her while to live it.

The war has not only purified our politics, but it has shown the great mass of American women the deep interest which they have in political questions. For years and years injustice and oppression have been stalking through the land, and men have not been afraid. The voice of the widow and the fatherless has for ages been crying to Heaven for vengeance against us; but we have not thought that God would hear or regard. The story of the wrongs of slavery, the anguish of black mothers torn from their children, and wives from their husbands, has been poured into our ears. A few women have regarded it, and felt these wrongs as if they had been their own. But the great mass said this did not concern them, and hardened their hearts until, like the oppressors of old, the Divine vengeance had almost literally "left one dead in every house." Woman may not have been more guilty in this matter than man; but she has surely had the bitterest punishment, inasmuch as the long, dreary, anxious, waiting and watching over the loved ones who had gone was harder far than an active participation in the conflict. Until this whole controversy is settled once and forever upon the principles of exact justice, American women will never dare feel no interest in political questions.

What shall be the result of all this? We will not equivocate and dodge the issue by saying we don't know, for we do know. As our politics are becoming purer and better, the increasing interest felt by women in political questions is the sign and pledge of woman's enfranchisement, and this will still further cleanse and purify the political atmosphere.

FOUR HOURS IN THE LIFE OF AN ORATOR.

The Appletons of New York have lately published a volume by Col. J. Madison Cutts, consisting of the opinions of Senator Douglas on a wide variety of political questions. We extract from this book the following account by Mr. Douglas of his unsuccessful attempt to address an audience at Chicago in defence of his Kansas-Nebraska policy:

"When I returned to Chicago I was met at Buffalo by a friend, who brought letters from other friends at Chicago, protesting against my return, and warning me that I would be inevitably killed if I did. I insisted upon going, and did so. I arrived there in the morning, went to my hotel, and after a few days, three or four, issued a notice of a speech to be made by me in front of North Market Hall. All the newspapers in the city denounced me, and published daily articles encouraging personal violence, reminding the people that in 1850, on the passage of the Compromise measures, I had returned and succeeded in quelling an outbreak against those measures, and that this thing could not be done a second time. Know-Nothingism had, pending the Nebraska bill, been organized in the United States for the first time, and in Chicago the anti-Nebraska men had organized into Know-Nothing Lodges, and probably included within those Lodges nine-tenths of all the men in the city.

"It was ascertained that they secretly determined and bound themselves by their oaths not to allow me to speak; and it is known that one of these thirty or forty Lodges ordered by telegraph, and received by express from New York, the night before I was to speak, two hundred and fifty of Colt's revolvers. When the day arrived the flags were hung at half-mast on the shipping in the harbor, and for several hours before the time appointed all the church bells in the city were tolled, at which signal the mob assembled in a force of about ten thousand. I had forty or fifty men who pretended to be with me privately, but not half-a-dozen were so openly; they were all afraid. At the appointed hour I repaired to the meeting and went upon the stand, and was greeted by that unearthly yell taught and practiced in the Know-Nothing Lodges, a howl no man can imitate. I stood and looked at the mob until the howling ceased. When they ceased I commenced by saying, that 'I appear before you to-night for the purpose of vindicating the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.'

"Before the sentence was ended the howl began again. When it ceased I would begin, and as soon as I commenced it was renewed. At times I appealed to their pride, as the champions of free speech, for a hearing; the howling was renewed; at other times I would denounce them as a set of cowards who came armed with bowie-knives and pistols to put down one man, unarmed—afraid to hear the truth spoken, lest there might be some honest men among them who would be convinced. At one time I got a hearing for ten or fifteen minutes, and was evidently making an impression upon the crowd, when there marched in from the outside a body of three or four hundred men with red skirts, dressed as sailors, and thoroughly armed, who moved through the crowd immediately in front of the stand, and then peremptorily ordered me to leave it.

"I stood and looked at them until they ceased yelling, and then denounced them and put them at defiance, and dared them to shoot at an unarmed man. The pistols began to fire all around the outside of the crowd, evidently in the air; eggs and stones were thrown at the stand, several of them hitting men who were near me, and for several hours this wild confusion and fury continued. The wonder is that amid that vast excited crowd no one was so far excited or maddened as to fire a ball at me. The stand was crowded with my enemies, reporters and newspaper men, and this was undoubtedly my best protection. I stood upon the front of the stand, in the midst of that confusion, from eight o'clock in the evening until quarter past twelve at night, when I suddenly drew my watch from my pocket and looked at it, in front of the crowd, and in a distinct tone of voice said, at an interval of silence, 'It is now Sunday morning—I'll go to church, and you may go to hell!' and I retired amid the uproar, got into my carriage and rode to my hotel.

"The crowd followed the carriage and came near throwing it off the bridge into the river as we crossed; they had seized it for that purpose, and lifted it; but the driver whipped his horses violently, and dashed through and over them, and went to the Tremont House, where I retired to my room. The mob, at least five thousand, followed, and commenced their howls in Lake street, fronting my room. The landlord begged me to leave the house, fearing they would burn it up, whereupon I raised my window, walked out on the balcony, took a good look at them and told them that the day would come when they would hear me, and then bade them good night."

NOTHING TO SPARE.

What! hast thou *naught* to spare? Alas! thy lot
Indeed is hapless; thou art very poor.
Poorer than thy poor brethren who have not
The hoarded much, that crieth still for more!
Where are thy baubles? Where thy glittering toys?
Where thy rich trappings? Thy amusements, where?
The daily luxury, that only cloys?
Oh! look, and see if thou hast "naught to spare."

Where is thy wasted time? Thy unbreathed word
Of gentleness? Thy hidden talent, where?
The look of pity which thou mightst accord?
Oh! do not tell me thou hast "naught to spare."
Bethink thee ere thou speakest so again,
And for thy needy brethren have some care;
Oh! be more grateful to thy Father, when
So *much* He giveth thee—so much "to spare."

A Glimpse of Garibaldi.—A correspondent of the London *Telegraph* has visited Garibaldi, in his camp at Como, and thus describes the personal appearance of the Liberator:

In the cartes de visite Garibaldi looks sombre, meagre and worn. I was surprised to see a hearty, jovial man, with a great blonde beard. But for the eye glass he used, and the stick he carried, there were no traces visible of the waves of time which have dashed against him, or the cruel bullet which struck him at Aspromonte. He gave me his hand, and a hearty, sailor-like grip into the bargain; and if it be snobbish to have wished to kiss that horny paw, I am glad to have been, for once in my life, a snob most egregious. I suppose he wore the renowned red shirt, but this garment was not visible. His upper man was all swathed in one of those simple striped blankets, through a hole in which the head is passed, and which are called in some parts of South America gregos, and in Mexico serapes. As a head dress he wore a velvet cap of the pork-pie form, and very coquettishly worked with gold embroidery, and if there be no peril of falling into the bathos by alluding to a hero's boots—I think there is no such peril, for are not the boots of Napoleon an inseparable part of his entirety?—I may mention that Garibaldi's extremities were shod in "double-soled, square toed lace-ups," the possession of a pair of which would have instilled great joy into the heart of a British clod-hopper, but which would scarcely have excited the admiration of silverstick in waiting. A thousand times must it have been remarked in print, that the aspect of Garibaldi is as that of a lion. But no other simile will serve. "Sorriso di madre, regardo di leon," the "mother's simile," comes over him when he converses familiarly, when he calls to some member of his staff, or, best of all, when he sees the boy volunteers, the hope and promise of Italy, passing before him. And there surely never was a countenance so thoroughly translucent, and from whose eyes there beamed so strongly the light of the soul within—the soul of a just and upright man, quietly striving to do his duty. I think Diogenes, coming into his presence, might have pitched his lantern out of the window, and, sitting on his tub, have cried, "Here he is, at last." I think that the most devoted student of Scottish heraldry, and the firmest believer in the chivalric supremacy of "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount," might have admitted that this was, after all, the real old tawney, "Lord Lyon, King of Arm," and king of men, too; for there is witchery in his glance and magic in his smile. He talked for half an hour, with that frank and easy and kindly simplicity which is only given to rulers, to men conscious of their own strength, benevolently mindful of the weakness of their interlocutors.

The Prussian Soldier.—"Malakoff" says in his last Paris letter to the New York *Times:*

"From all sides the testimony concurs in the statement that the needle gun has not had so important a share in the success of the Prussians as the Austrians would have the world believe. The Prussians seem to have shown more intelligence on the field, more dash, more solidity and more brilliancy in tactics, than their enemy, besides possessing a gun which, when a good occasion presented for its use, was sure to destroy whatever attempted to stand before it. The army people of France are astounded at this result and refuse to see the cause of it. They refuse to see that Prussia is indebted for her success to the education she gives her people, as well their common school education as their military education in the well-organized *landwehr*. France and Austria spend great sums of money on their officers and military establishments, while the people, the peasantry, of these two countries are maintained in about the same state of ignorance they were two centuries ago. In these two countries the Catholic Church controls, in a great measure, the little instruction the people receive; in Prussia, it is the government and the progressive Protestant Church which controls the education of the people. In France and Austria, therefore, the peasant makes a good soldier to fight *in superior numbers with uncomplicated instruments of warfare;* but he could not stand a minute before an equal number of educated men with complicated and improved instruments of war. Military renown, bravery, *esprit de corps* and *clan* would do no good in presence of a higher intelligence and a gun shooting six times to one. The French government would do well to look a little less to the embellishment of Paris, and a little more to the poor, ignorant masses outside of Paris—of those masses which compose its army."

The Art of Dunning.—The art of dunning is not reckoned among the fine or polite arts. Indeed, there are no rules upon the subject, as each case may be tried by itself, the success of various expedients being very much as you light upon chaps." At times a lucky accident brings the money out of a slow debtor after the manner following:

One of our merchants, nervous and irritable, received a letter from a customer in the country, begging for more time. Turning to one of his counting clerks, he said:

"Write to this man at once."

"Yes, sir. What shall I say?"

The merchant was pacing the office, and repeated the order:

"Write to him at once."

"Certainly, sir. What do you wish me to say?"

The merchant was impatient, and broke out:

"Something or nothing, and that very quick."

The clerk waited for no further orders, but, consulting his own judgment, wrote and dispatched the letter. By the return of mail came a letter from the delinquent customer inclosing the money in full of the account. The merchant's eyes glistened when he opened it, and, hastening to the desk, he said to the clerk:

"What sort of a letter did you write to this man? Here is the money in full."

"I wrote just what you told me to, sir. The letter is copied in the letter-book."

The letter-book was consulted, and there stood, short and sweet, and right to the point:

"Dear Sir: Something or nothing, and that very quick. Yours, etc., ——."

And this letter brought the money when a more elaborate dun would have failed of the happy effect.

Always in Session.—There was a very irascible old gentleman who formerly held the position of Justice of the Peace in one of our cities. Going down the main street one day, one of the boys spoke to him without coming up to his honor's idea of deference. "Young man, I fine you five dollars for contempt of Court." "Why, Judge," said the offender, "you are not in session." "This Court," responded the Judge, thoroughly irritated, "is always in session, and consequently always an object of contempt!" There was disorder in Court as his honor passed on.

SUNSET.

A long, long life, with sorrows overcast,
And trials sore with patience borne, a calm old age
In trustful waiting spent, all are illumined
With the sunset glow of a departing soul.
This light, sweet slumber that to us did seem
A balm to fleshly ills, was for the spirit rest;
The close of life came with the falling dews,
And dreams of earth with blissful visions mingled
As closing day and coming darkness meet.
The evening hour is consecrate anew,
With passage of another soul beloved,
And seemeth now the gateway unto heaven.
—*The Friend.*

An Old Bible.—The Imperial Library, in the Rue Richelieu, has been enriched, through the munificence of the Empress, by a paleographic object of great interest. It is a Bible, in two octavo volumes, in vellum, a masterpiece of fine penmanship and illustration. It dates from the thirteenth century, and was executed in Europe, then conveyed to Arabia, from which country it has been recently brought. The text, disposed in two columns, is bordered by marginal notes, including the great and little Massora—a collection of critical observations of great value for understanding the Holy Scriptures. Another peculiarity of this manuscript—in addition to the two leaves of the frontispiece, written on purple, and giving a representation of the principal objects of the exterior worship of the Jews—is twelve other leaves adorned with arabesques and interweavings of the greatest elegance. At a first glance they appear to be merely drawings, but on a closer inspection are found to be microscopical writing, following all the capricious inflections of the sketch, and comprising the one hundred psalms of David. The Empress, to whom the manuscript was proposed for sale, purchased it at once, and has now presented it to the library, thinking it could not have a more appropriate destination.

The Cross as an Emblem in Chivalry.—It has been before observed that the cross forms the badge of nearly every order of knighthood; it may not, therefore, be amiss to enumerate some instances here. The most remarkable of the old orders to which the Crusades gave rise were the Templars, and the Knights of Malta, who have only altered their name from the Knights of Rhodes and St. John of Jerusalem because of their change of residence. The Templars bore a red cross on a white cloak, the Knights of Malta a white cross on a black cloak. On the centre of the star of the Order of the Garter is the Cross of St. George. The badge of the Order of the Thistle represents St. Andrew carrying his cross. A cross saltier gules appears on the star and badge of the Order of St. Patrick. The cross of St. George appears in the star of the order of St. Michael and St. George, a Maltese cross in the collar, and a cross of fourteen points as the badge. The military badge of the Order of the Bath has a cross of eight points. Among spanish orders, the Knights of St. Jago have for their badge a cross, the lower limb of which is pointed like a sword, and the upper cross-letted. The Teutonic knights were robed in white, with a cross patonce sable, voyded with a cross patonce double, or. To mention all the orders which are distinguished by the cross in one form or another, would, indeed, be an endless task.

The Effects of Bad Handwriting.—It appears that a gentleman in Michigan owned a building which was situated on the lands of the Michigan Central railway, and the company desiring him to remove it, the superintendent, who writes a most uncouth hand, sent him a short letter, ordering its removal at once. The house was not taken away, however, and three months afterwards the superintendent met the owner, and began scolding him for not doing it. The explanation was soon made; the notice had been received; nobody could decipher it; some one had suggested it might be a free pass, and upon that suggestion the owner of the building had been riding over the road for three months, the conductors being as unable as the rest of the world to decipher the note.

SOUTHERN AFFAIRS.

CONDITION OF SOUTHERN LOYALISTS.

The New Orleans *Tribune* thus speaks of the condition of loyalists in the South:

"When a teacher goes to some village and opens a school for colored children, he is turned out and not seldom beaten, stabbed or killed. When a man of liberal principles speaks of liberty and human rights in our country parishes, he is at once threatened with assassination. There is no political liberty in the South, outside of a few cities, and even in these cities, under the 'protection' of our flag, the incendiaries of Mobile and the assassins of New Orleans and Memphis tell the tale of the liberties we enjoy."

WHERE IS THE SPEAKING BAYONET?

The Richmond *Dispatch* thinks it "marvelous that Mr. Johnson should allow such men as Botts, Brownlow, Forney, Greeley, Butler, Wendell Phillips, and Jack Hamilton, to travel over the country and make speeches denouncing him and his policy, or to publish newspapers filled with bitter denunciations of his policy, his character, and his intentions. Where is the army? Where is the speaking bayonet?"

TEXAS.

A portion of the State Rebellious.—United States Troops Defied and the People in Arms.—Gen. Sheridan Gone to the Scene of Difficulty.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

Washington, Monday, Sept. 24, 1866.

Your special New Orleans correspondent sends the following dispatch to this Bureau:

New Orleans, Monday, Sept. 24, 1866.

The Tyler (Texas) *Reporter* of the 12th inst., says that a detachment of United States troops, under command of Capt. Tupper, were fired into by an Arkansian who was not aware that the war was over. Official information received from Benham, Texas, shows that place to be in a state of insurrection. The citizens are all armed and patrol the streets to prevent the soldiers from coming into town. The Mayor or Sheriff is reported to have telegraphed to the Adjutant-General of the State, to know how many men he could furnish to drive the Yankees off. A reply is said to have been received, offering five hundred well-armed men, and more if necessary. The officer in command of the detachment of United States troops, numbering about sixty men, has intrenched and otherwise fortified his position. After receiving a large supply of ammunition from Galveston, he expressed confidence in being able to withstand an attack. Gen. Sheridan left for the scene of action this morning.

MISREPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING THE COMING CROPS.

The Memphis (Tenn.) *Commercial* says: "The application of Southern planters for an advance of Northern capital, has induced a representation of products greater than will be realized. There are bolls and leaves in cotton, as well as stocks or gold.

LOUISIANA.

The murder of Capt. S. G. Butts of the Veteran Reserve Corps—Result of the military investigation.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

Washington, Thursday, Sept. 27, 1866.

Gen. Sheridan, under date of Sept. 19, forwards reports of Major Cronie and Mr. Nat Rives, containing all the information he had received in regard to the murder of Capt. S. G. Butts, Veteran Reserve Corps, and an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau, stationed at Vernon, La.

Mr. Rives reports that Lieut. Butts left Vernon July 1 to go to Natchitoches. He borrowed my saddle-bags, and told me he would return in about ten days. He left here (Vernon) Sunday morning, and stayed that night at the house of John O. Morris, a short mile this side of Louisville, in Weins Parish, as I learned from Mr. Morris himself. Again we heard that he took dinner at Mr. Watson's, six miles this side of St. Maurice, in Winn Parish. It is reported here that Lieut. Butts stated to Watson and others that his life had been threatened in Winfield if he returned by that route to Vernon. But he declared his intention of doing so, as he was not afraid.

I am truly sorry (and I believe it is the general sentiment of the citizens in this vicinity) that anything should have happened to Butts. He seemed to have made a very favorable impression on the people of Jackson. I have never heard any one speak of him except in the kindest terms. I hope sincerely he will turn up all right yet. Have you heard as yet whether he ever reached Natchitoches? Mr. Thompson and myself had determined yesterday, to send down to that city, perhaps next week, on business, and at the same time write and see if we could learn anything from Butts.

I believe I have given you all the information we have here in relation to Lieut. Butts. If I can learn anything more, I will advise you at once.

Very respectfully, Nat. Rives.

Office Bureau F., and A. L.,
Natchitoches, La., Sept. 5, 1866.

Capt. A. F. Hayden, *A. A. G., Freedmen's Bureau.*

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that, having made all due inquiries in regard to the fate of Capt. S. C. Butts, I have every reason to believe that his remains were found about four miles from Mr. (or, as they call him, Squire) Weeks's house. Mr. W. I have known for some time. He (Butts) stopped all night at his (Weeks's) house on Sunday, the 8th of July—the day that I parted from him.

The skeleton found exactly corresponds with the description of Butts—two of the front teeth broken. Gold shirt-studs or sleeve-buttons were found. He had on sleeve-buttons, but I do not recollect any shirt-studs.

The remains were found by a son of Anderson Walker and some freedmen. From the description of the wound, it seems the ball passed through the back of his head, coming out of his forehead, and from the statement, he must have been killed instantly. When he left Squire Weeks's he had on his military pants, V. R. C., and said he would go by Louisville to get a shoe put on his horse.

Where the skeleton is found is about four miles on the Natchitoches and Munroe roads, near a spring in said road, and within three miles west of Louisville on that road. Respectfully,

James Cronie, Brevet Major, V. R. C.

"PEACE" IN ARKANSAS.

The rebels carried everything before them in the late Arkansas election, and they are already enjoying "the spoils of victory." The Fort Smith *New Era* of Sept. 5th says:

"About the time Sheriff Williams was killed in Pope County, a couple of weeks ago, a man named Ray, who had been a soldier in the second Arkansas (Union) Cavalry, was most barbarously murdered in the same county, under the following circumstances: Several men rode up to Ray's house late in the evening; and inquired if they could have supper. Ray told them that his wife was very sick, but that he would do what he could for them. Whereupon he himself prepared a meal for them, and they partook of it. Supper over and their horses fed, the bushwhackers, for such they were, asked Ray what they had to pay. He hospitably refused compensation.

"What followed is of a nature so diabolical and heart-rending as almost to stagger belief. The fiends then coolly told Ray that they had come to kill him, and that he had to die immediately, accusing him of having killed a friend of theirs during the war. Horror-struck, Ray plead for his life, for the sake of his poor wife, who was confined to her bed a helpless invalid. But the monsters knew no mercy, and as one of them was about to fire, the wife sprang out of her bed and placed herself before her husband, begging with all the fervor of a devoted wife, under circumstances so dreadful, for her husband's life. But in vain. The savage removed one of her arms from her husband and fired, shooting the man (whose only crime was to be a Union man and an ex-Union soldier) through the body. Breaking away from his wife, he staggered across the room, trying, perhaps, to escape, but fell dead after receiving three more shots. The assassin then fired off the remaining two charges of his revolver in the room, and then the whole party left.

"No arrests have been made, nor will there ever be. The murderer, before he killed Ray, confessed he did not know anything of him, but that he was a Union man, and Union men could not live there.

"Since writing the above, we learn that two other Union men were killed in the same county, one of whom was Capt. Dodson, late of the 4th Arkansas (Union) Cavalry. The rebels attempted to kill Capt. Wood, but he got out of their way.

"There can be no doubt that there is an organized band of rebel cut-throats in that part of the State, who do the bidding of their masters with terrible fidelity."

THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

An Alabama paper says: "Butler turned thief at the start; Turchin was a natural born imp of perdition; Thomas has displayed a natural aptitude for giving white people's churches to his black betters; Sherman found the torch a more congenial weapon to his unknightly nature than the sword; Grant tried to be a politician and failed as signally *as when he attempted to defeat Lee fairly;* and now one of the small fry, *a short-tailed, slimy tad-pole of the latter spawn, the blathering disgrace of an honest father, an everlasting libel upon his Irish blood, the scorn of brave men and the synonym of infamy,* Maj.-Gen. Phil. H. Sheridan, has added his name to this list of outrages upon humanity by the issue of General Order No. 14, Military division of the Gulf."

The Nashville (Texas) *Item*, quoting an assertion of the Galveston *News* that the South would not now vote to re-establish slavery, adds:

"Perhaps so, if the old agitations and discussions were to be renewed; the old troubles and worryings and interferences by one set of States with the inalienable rights and customs of another set of States. But if it were to decide on the rights of a series of States, as to what kind of labor they should employ; as to how they should invest their capital so as to secure that labor; as to the right or the wrong of slavery *per se*, we are certain the institution would be restored unanimously—except so far as the votes of the few sneaks who infest the South would go to the contrary. Be sure the South will never forget that she has been violently robbed by a gang of highwaymen, who happened to muster more force for the robbery than she was able to to prevent it, and that she will never forgive, though centuries should elapse ere she be righted. No, no! wrongs are righted, one time or other, but till that time comes, she will know no such word as forgive, in a political sense."

The Nashville *Gazette* thus discusses the different modes of bringing that State once more under rebel rule:

"The people of Tennessee have before them three alternative courses, among which they must choose one. First, they may decide to take the risk in future elections of outvoting the Rads under the franchise law. Second, they may, in the general election of 1867, get possession of the entire State organization, by *voting in defiance of the Franchise act.* Third, they may, *by consent of the Federal military power,* hold a State Convention that shall *abrogate the Franchise act, and organize a State government based upon general popular suffrage.*

"We might have added a fourth alternative had we considered it possible that the people would ever consent to the permanent rule of the present contemptible oligarchy. Of the three just mentioned, the first is too uncertain for our approval; the second postpones our deliverance too long; *the third is the speediest and surest,* if the President will permit it. If the proclamation, now expected by some, should be issued, entirely and unequivocally renouncing all military control of the States, we shall certainly have the Convention. It need not be in session more than a week, and will cost but little money."

"Will the Blacks Work?"—This question was anxiously, dubiously debated in 1865; it is debated no longer. It has been proved that the blacks *will* work, provided they can be reasonably assured of fair payment. There are inveterately idle and vicious negroes, of course, just as there are idlers and reprobates of all races; but there are this day a larger per centage of the blacks than of any other race inhabiting this country who are earning an honest living by downright manual labor. Those who won't work will die out—perish miserably from off the face of the earth, be they of what race or color they may; but the vast majority of the blacks will work and live, provided the badly reconstructed rebels and their copperhead allies will refrain from wantonly killing them. So much experience has proved. But "Will the *Southern whites* work?" That is a more difficult problem. As a class, work is not in their line. They were not trained to it, and they don't like it. They believe work a good thing for niggers, but bad for whites, especially in "the sunny South." This day, two-thirds of all the rations dealt out by the Freedmen's Bureau are consumed by needy whites—most of them the widows and orphans of rebel soldiers. These are on the brink of starvation, no doubt; but if their surviving brothers and uncles would only work, they would not long be dependent on the Bureau. And it is high time that they ceased to be.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

A MAN SHOT BY POLLARD IN WASHINGTON.

A dispatch to the Philadelphia *Press* of this morning, dated at Washington, says: "R. H. Pollard, of Richmond, had a difficulty at the Fountain Hotel, in this city, to-night, with a man named Frederick Hopkins, in reference to a female at the hotel, resulting in Pollard shooting Hopkins. The wound is not serious. Pollard was arrested."

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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO RELIGION.

EDITED BY S. H. MORSE.

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